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The Third (Communist) International

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

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Interim Report

November 1, 1947

25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

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Structure of the Third (Communist) International.	Inside Back Cover
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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

During the twenty-four years of its official existence the Third (Communist) International played a key role in the world-wide organization and development of the revolutionary Marxist movement. As the first global political machine in history, it coordinated the efforts of groups of determined and fanatical agitators and revolutionaries in almost every nation and colonized area of the world. To no small degree the enormous growth of world communism in our generation has been due to its integrating and compulsive force.

A "scientific" political-economic movement with the qualities of a religious crusade, a movement dedicated to achieving a single simple aim--the complete abolition of classes and the realization of socialism in the entire world--by means of the revolutionary seizure of power by urban factory workers led by a disciplined vanguard, international communism has profited greatly from the direction and assistance of a highly-trained, professional staff of revolutionaries who

kept pure the basic doctrine of "scientific" socialism expounded by Marx, amended by Lenin, and stabilized by Stalin;

established patterns of Party organization and functioning based upon the long experience of the Bolshevik party before and after the Soviet revolution;

dictated the strategy and analyzed the tactics of national Party propaganda and action;

pooled the knowledge gained by the experience of each Party for the benefit of all;

trained national cadres in political, secret intelligence, and subversive activities; provided funds for Party work--from newspaper budgets to revolutionary war-chests;

and developed a climate of personal professional relationships indispensable for maintaining cohesion and single-mindedness in international political action.

The international Communist movement very early in its career organized itself throughout on the Leninist principle of centralism, which called for an authoritative center responsible for the interpretation of doctrine and the determination of strategy and tactics and for semi-military subordination of lower to higher echelons. Applied on the national as well as the international level, this principle gave the Comintern its characteristic organizational pattern. The national parties affiliated with the Third International were organized around Central Committees which exercised national command functions. International centralization was achieved by the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Moscow which was established as the high command of the entire Communist movement. The Comintern therefore represented not only a federation of parties joined together for common action, but also a complex and tightly organized headquarters command staff which assumed control over the various national centers, and was itself closely integrated into the executive center of the one Communist Party which had already succeeded in seizing power. Comintern headquarters provided the general staff of the world revolution, and however its dissolution may be interpreted, the Leninist-Stalinist principle of centralization, without which (from the Communist point of view) a revolutionary movement is impossible, has not been abandoned.

No small part of the successful development of the Communist movement--particularly during the fascist thirties and during the war itself--has been due to its practical combination of "legal" and "illegal"* activities in fighting against the political, social, and police opposition it was faced

* Communist parlance for "overt or public" and "secret or underground".

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with everywhere outside the Soviet Union. The contributions of Third International headquarters to the effective illegal life of the world party have been of singular importance. Ranging from the provision of money, the "black" movement of personnel, the provision of safe-haven inside the USSR to the training of national cadres in the arts of espionage, sabotage, and clandestine organization and propaganda work, the direction of the world Center has guaranteed the permanent existence of every national section whatever the nature or strength of the repressive forces directed against it.

The Third (Communist) International was "dissolved" by decree in 1943. The dissolution of the headquarters was authentic: the bureaucratic structure, the personnel assignments, and the delegated functions as they existed in the late '30s were actually liquidated. The efficient functioning of the international Communist movement was nonetheless little affected by this "dissolution" of its parent steering organization, and the formal grouping of nine European Parties announced 5 October 1947 simply establishes on a more systematic organizational basis the functional coordination and centralized control which the Communist movement has never lost. The present paper accordingly presents an analysis of the "dissolved" Comintern, not out of historical interest, but as providing an indispensable factual basis for an estimate of the organization and functioning of international Communism today. This paper will be followed by an overall roster of personnel connected with the Third International before 1943, and subsequently by a detailed appreciation of the methods and techniques by which international Communism has, since 1943, maintained the rigid centralism which today contributes so largely to its successful exploitation by the Soviet government in the non-diplomatic implementation of its foreign policy.

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I. ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The "scientific" socialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, offering not only a critical analysis of modern capitalist society but also a clearly-outlined program for action to be carried out by the working masses of the world, gave birth to a series of international workers' associations dedicated to the purpose of translating Marxist doctrine into social action.

Marx himself initiated the international Communist movement with the founding of the Communist League in June 1847 (earlier League of the Just) which was organized into communes (3-20 members), circles (2-10 communes), leading circles, Central Committee, and a Congress. This miniature league of "advanced workers" accepted the programmatic principles and tactics of Marx and Engels and commissioned the former to draw up the Communist Manifesto which was published in February 1848 and contained "the Party policy of the Communists, insofar as it can be made public." The Communist League, however, was only the forerunner of the first authentic International, the union of English, German, French, and Italian workers' societies founded at London in 1864 as the International Workingmen's Association and for which Marx again, after some maneuvering, wrote a program (the Inaugural Address) which, with strong concessions to "the present standpoint of the workers' movement," established the solidarity of the proletariat in all countries as the fundamental principle of the International. A series of seven Congresses (1865-72) culminated in the Hague Congress when the International split with the expulsion of Bakunin and his anarchist faction and the Executive General Council was transferred from London to New York where it formally died in 1874.

As the European labor parties grew in the '70's and '80's, various attempts were made to re-found the International, but they did not succeed until the Foundation Congress of the Second International, Paris, 1889. As the socialist movement developed in Europe during the next twenty five years, the moderate "reformist" or "opportunist" wing of the major parties grew to dominate the movement, and with the outbreak of World War I the Marxist parties - with few exceptions - voted war credits and gave full support to their own "bourgeois" governments in the "imperialist" struggle.

For Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik or revolutionary section of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, who had been fighting this opportunist trend in his own party since 1903, the "betrayal" of the proletariat by the Socialists' desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie hidden behind the patriotic concept of "defense of the fatherland" marked the end of the Second International and called for the founding of a new International to carry on the fight for the proletarian revolution.

His plans for a new Communist world party, however, were realized only after the conclusion of the October Revolution in Russia (1917). The establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia through the successful action of the Bolshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Party gave enormous weight to Lenin's interpretation of Marxist doctrine and strategy, and acted as a powerful magnetic force in the workers' movement, tearing away fractions and entire parties out of the framework of the Second International. In March 1919 an international conference of delegates from several European Communist groups was hastily arranged in Moscow upon a wireless appeal of the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, and the Third (Communist) International -- Comintern -- was founded.

The preamble to the Constitution and Rules of the Communist International (1928) clearly defines its purpose:

"The Communist International - the International Workers' Association - is a Union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a World Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the bearer of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the

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world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of Socialism - the first stage of Communist Society."

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II. PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The term "Comintern" or "Communist International" has consistently been employed in two senses -- correctly, as referring to the entire world-revolutionary complex of organized Communist Parties and their international executive apparatus, and, more narrowly, as a convenient term for the executive apparatus in Moscow itself and its communications and action agencies in the field. Taking the term in its first inclusive meaning naturally requires at least cursory consideration of the principal action components of the Comintern--the national sections or parties themselves--before examining the structure and functioning of the headquarters organization.

A. Sections.

The world Communist movement developed rapidly from its initial start in March 1919 when the Russian Bolsheviks, with a mere handful of non-Russian radicals from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden, and the United States, faced the task of creating and consolidating effective Communist organizations on every continent.

Prisoners of World War I were infiltrated by Lenin into Austria and Hungary to organize the first full-fledged Communist parties organized outside of Russia. The Communist Party of Germany was founded in January 1919, of the United States in September 1919, of France in December 1920, of Italy in January 1921, etc. The parties of Indo-China, Cyprus and Iceland affiliated themselves with the Comintern as late as 1931. By 1935 there were affiliated to the Comintern 76 Communist parties and groups with a total membership of 3,926,000, the Communist Party of Soviet Russia comprising 3,141,000 members, and overall Communist Party strength in "capitalist" countries placed at 875,000*. In addition, Communist Youth Organizations counted 3,759,000 members in the USSR and 221,000 members abroad. (The figures given at the Pan-British Communist Conference in March 1947 claim the existence of 68 parties with a total world membership of 18,592,300, including the Communist Party of Soviet Russia with 6,000,000 members).

The basic relations of the sections to the Comintern were regulated by the Conditions of Admission to the Comintern (1920). Subsequently, any group or party desiring to join the Communist International, as well as any already affiliated section, had to accept, under penalty of exclusion, 21 "conditions" which called for:

An emphatic break with the Second International. Lenin considered the destruction of the Second (Socialist) International a prerequisite for world-revolution and constantly fought Social-Democratic reformist or parliamentary methods inside and outside Comintern ranks. The Conditions therefore stipulated that each affiliated section draw up a new political program in conformity

* During the period 1935-1943, Communist Parties existed in Algeria, Alsace Lorraine, Arabia, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Catalonia, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Haiti, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Islands, Poland, Porto Rico, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Transjordan, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, USA, USSR, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

** The Communist International of Youth, a Comintern auxiliary, enjoyed section status without being a National Party.

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with Comintern resolutions (#15); make itself clearly distinguishable from Social Democratic or Socialist parties by designating itself as "Communist Party of Section of the Third Communist International" (#7); fight the labor unions affiliated with the Second International and support the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) created by the Comintern (#10); break with, and expel from its ranks, all "reformists" (i.e., non-revolutionary) elements (#2,7); renounce and expose social patriotism and social pacifism (#6).

The creation of a strong centralized Party. The creation of a unified, centralized, disciplined party, capable of achieving revolutionary objectives, was made obligatory for affiliated sections by #12 of the Conditions:

"In the present epoch of intensified civil war, the Communist Party can discharge its duty only if it will be organized with the highest degree of centralization, ruled by iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and if its party center will prove to be a potent authoritative body invested with broad powers and enjoying the general confidence of the party members."

Since this conception of the party was held incompatible with any factionalism within its ranks, and since Lenin was particularly eager to remove all remnants of the Second International, the sections were bound to purge their organizations regularly and systematically, particularly of "reformists and followers of the centre", even at the cost of replacing experienced functionaries (#2, #13).

The creation of illegal apparatus. The Bolshevik leaders, who had accumulated a vast experience in underground work during the "illegal" period of their existence, early realized, especially as the tide of European revolution receded, not only that the sections must prepare for the time when they might be forced to go underground, but also that legal, overt methods would not be adequate to carry out their revolutionary program. Condition #3 reads:

"The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should be of assistance to the party to do its duty toward the revolution. In every country where, in consequence of martial law or other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary".

Similarly, #13 of the statutes of the Comintern states that "the general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes necessary for the Communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal Communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee (of the Comintern) shall be bound to see that this shall be carried out everywhere."

Two categories of illegal action agencies (apparatus) were therefore evolved by the sections under Comintern supervision: agencies which were ready to carry out underground party work in the event of the prohibition or suppression of the legal party (underground apparatus), and those which operated alongside the legally functioning party, performing such pre-revolutionary duties as sabotage, paramilitary training, and espionage (parallel apparatus).

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Compulsory support of the Soviet Union. Each section was obliged to "render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces" (#14).

Active penetration of non-Communist organizations. Each party was bound to penetrate labor unions, cooperatives and other labor organizations in order to gain effective control over other organs of the workers' movement. Communist fractions engaged in such work were completely controlled by the section (#9).

Party control of parliamentary fractions. Communist fractions elected to constitutional parliamentary bodies were to conform strictly to the policy laid down by the Central Committee of the section and were to be purged of "unreliable" elements (#11).

Anti-Imperialist policy. Sections in countries with colonies were obliged to advocate and support the "liberation" of colonial populations (#6).

Compulsory propaganda activities. All propaganda and agitation work was to be harmonized with the program and decisions of the Comintern, and all propaganda media as well as personnel were to be subject to strict control by the leading organs of the section (#1). Subversion, propaganda and agitation ^{were} to be carried out in every military organization, by legal or illegal means (#4). Systematic propaganda work in rural districts was similarly made obligatory (#5).

The overall supremacy of the Comintern. The supremacy of the Comintern over its sections, clearly illustrated by the Conditions already cited, was formally stipulated in #16, which declared that all resolutions of the organs of the Comintern were binding for the sections, and that the Third International should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. In making resolutions which were to be publicized by the sectional press, Comintern organs were merely obliged to consider the variety of conditions under which the national parties had to work.

B. Interrelation of Sections: Federations.

According to Comintern statutes, all sections, but particularly those in "imperialist" countries and their colonies as well as those in adjacent countries, were to maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and--with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Comintern--exchange leading functionaries.

Individual members of sections were permitted to travel from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of their own section--with out such consent they were not to be accepted into other sections. In the case of a Communist's changing his domicile, he was obliged to join the section in the country of his new residence.

Beyond these casual relations, sections were entitled to form "Federations"* with the consent and under the supervision of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The purpose of such Federations was to provide more effective coordination of the activities of parties with common political objectives. The following Federations are known to have existed:

* The recently established nine-Party "Information Bureau" at Belgrade is organizationally almost identical with the pre-war "Federations" except that the CPSU is a direct participant.

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1. The Federation of Scandinavian Communist Parties. A Federation of the Communist Parties of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland was formed in January 1944, and operated through a secretariat which was to utilize the experience of other Communist Parties in the interests of the Scandinavian Parties.

2. The Balkan Communist Federation. Created in 1920 upon the initiative of Bulgarian Communists, and linked directly to the Comintern through its Secretary General, Kolarov, who was also a member of the ECCI presidium, the Federation advocated the autonomy of Macedonia and Thrace, and established a united front with the Macedonian revolutionaries in IMRO. The organization, functioning through an Executive Committee and a Political Bureau, supervised the political activities of the Balkan sections from its headquarters in Vienna (reportedly broken up by the police in 1928).

In 1923, the Comintern established a so-called "Labor Office" in Salonica, which served as full-powered field representative of the Federation in Greece. Staffed by Jews, Russians, and Comintern Balkan agents, the office furnished arms, served as a relay station for travelling Comintern agents, and--after 1926--directed an intelligence section established by the Greek Communist Party in Salonica. This office was suppressed by the police in 1930.

In 1936, the Federation was further reported to have sent (unidentified) permanent representatives to Rumania and Greece.

From 1929 (the year of the 8th Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation) up to the war no information on the existence or activity of the organization is available.

3. The Latin American Federation. In February 1925 the illegal parties of Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and Guatemala and the legal party of Paraguay formed a federation which operated through a Secretariat charged with the coordination of Communist propaganda in Latin America and with maintaining liaison with the Comintern.

C. The World Congress.*

In accordance with normal Communist practice on the national level, the individual sections affiliated to the Comintern at intervals sent one or more delegates to attend a congress of all sections for establishing international policy and electing the executive personnel of the international headquarters.

1. Function. Theoretically, the World Congress was the supreme policy-making body of the Comintern. Its primary functions were:

to discuss and decide programmatic, tactical, and organizational questions concerning the Comintern and its sections;

to alter the program and rules of the Comintern; to elect

to elect the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the International Control Commission;

to allocate to each section a number of votes at the World Congress based on its strength and political importance.

In practical terms, the World Congress served as an international forum at which general policies previously worked out by the Executive Committee (see below) were formally pronounced and unanimously

* For a list of delegates to the various Congresses, see Appendix A.

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accepted. Such occasions also provided the delegates with the opportunity for informal exchange of views and information and for the transaction of confidential business. On the whole, however, the World Congress was a ceremonial affair, not unlike a labor convention, and of primary significance only so far as overt Comintern strategic and tactical fluctuations were concerned.

The preparatory work of the World Congress was normally divided among several ad-hoc commissions. On the occasion of the Fifth World Congress, for example, the following Commissions had previously been organized by the Moscow staff: Mandate, Drafting, Political, Organization, Program, Trade Union, National and Colonial Questions, Peasant, Women's Questions, Youth, Propaganda, Italian, Russian, British, Polish, Bulgarian, Japanese, German, and Scandinavian.

The Commissions of the Sixth World Congress (1928) included the Program Commission which drafted the statutes of the Comintern; the Colonial Commission with its Negro Sub-Commission; the War Commission, which prepared resolutions for "anti-military" work; the Credentials Commission, and the Political Commission, which in later years apparently became a standing commission of the Presidium.

The final pronouncements of the World Congresses took the form of "theses" and "resolutions", the former being authoritative over-all politico-economic analyses of a given national or international situation, the latter generally representing outlines of concrete action programs.

2. The Seven World Congresses. The World Congress was, by statute, to convene every two years. In the period 1919-35 actually seven congresses were held--all at Moscow:

The First World Congress (March 1919), which founded the Comintern, limited its open activities to pronouncements of revolutionary propaganda and issued a manifesto to the proletariat of the world in which it pledged allegiance to the principles laid down in Marx's Communist Manifesto of 1848. It maintained that world revolution was imminent and that it was the purpose of the Comintern to assure the speedy and final victory of Communism. The Congress also expressed the belief that within the year all of Europe would be under the rule of Soviets.

The Second World Congress (July-August 1920) adopted the theses and statutes of the Comintern which were formulated by members of the Russian Communist Party, and began the work of creating a highly centralized organization. This congress still viewed the establishment of an international Soviet republic as realizable within the near future.

The Third World Congress (June-July 1921) acknowledged the failures of the Comintern's previous revolutionary policies in Europe and adopted tactics designed to win over the masses of non-Communist workers as a necessary preparation to the final revolutionary struggle which, under prevailing conditions, appeared to be receding into the more distant future.

The Fourth World Congress (November-December 1922) elaborated the policies of its predecessor and worked out the tactics of the "united labor front", a tactic directed at the unification of the efforts of all workers in the fight against capitalism, including those who did not accept the Communist creed.

The Fifth World Congress (June-July 1924) continued to stress the importance of the slogan "To the masses" formulated by the Third Congress, and resolved to reorganize ("bolshovize") the various national Communist Parties by exploiting the experience of the Russian Communist Party. This Congress was marked by the intrusion into the international scene of the Stalin-Trotsky intra-party struggle in Russia.

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The Sixth World Congress (July-August 1928) adopted the "program" of the Comintern as drafted by Stalin. Confirming the revolutionary aims and methods of the Comintern, the program was mainly designed to harmonize Comintern doctrine and strategy with Stalin's theory of "socialism in a single country": the aims of world revolution are best served by safeguarding the socialist experiment in the Soviet Union. Translated into practical terms, this meant organizational and political subordination of the national Communist Parties to the requirements of the Soviet Union foreign policy. The Congress also executed a sharp swing to the left, stigmatizing all Social-Democrats as "Social Fascists" with whom no collaboration was possible.

The Seventh World Congress (July-August 1935), moving to the right, officially adopted the "united front" policy of cooperation with the non-Communist left and the liberals which had already proved a success in France. In the face of the growing threat of Fascism and Nazism, the security of the USSR became the dominating motive of Comintern tactics.

The Seventh Congress was the last official gathering of national section representatives. According to official Comintern sources, 510 delegates were present at this last Congress, 371 of whom had decisive votes, the remainder advisory votes only. 42% of the delegates were 31-40 years old, 28.8% 21-30 years old, 28.2% over 40. The bulk of the delegates (330) had joined the Party between 1917 and 1928; 104 had become members after 1928; and only 53 (all Russians) had joined before 1917. Only 275 out of the 510 delegates were workers, but 218 of the 371 decisive votes were held by workers, thus assuring the primarily "proletarian" complexion of the Congress. The delegates represented 65 of the 76 affiliated groups (including 19 "sympathizing" organizations); 26 of these groups were then operating legally, and 50 illegally.

D. The Executive Apparatus.

The World Congresses theoretically "elected" the personnel of the international headquarters staff which provided the centralized direction and coordination of the sections in the universal campaign of the workers against the capitalistic system. This headquarters--in common parlance the Comintern proper--essentially represented a policy-making and executive-administrative staff who controlled and directed the action of the national sections, although in the sphere of illegal activity it often engaged directly in political and subversive action to the extent required by the inability of the sections to carry out the national or, more particularly, international action required by a given tactical situation.

The constituent elements of the Comintern headquarters not only present the complexity and absence of clear demarcations of authority and function that would be anticipated from a world revolutionary organization working on different levels of legality, but they also passed through historical organizational and personnel changes prompted by the ready adaptability of all Communist organizations in suiting structure to fit need. Many questions of structure and function, further, remain confused or fragmentary simply because adequate evidence remains unavailable on countless aspects of headquarters and of headquarters-section activity--in spite of twenty-five years of work on the system by innumerable police and intelligence agencies of the "capitalist" world.

Essentially, this headquarters "elected" by the World Congresses comprised the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), the International Control Commission (ICC), and their subordinate and auxiliary agencies. This complex is the subject of the following analysis.

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E. The International Control Commission.

The International Control Commission, elected by the World Congress, represented the highest disciplinary and auditing agency of the Comintern, and was empowered

- a. To investigate complaints of party members who had been disciplined by their Central Committee;
- b. To initiate such investigations without formal complaint or upon request by the ECCI;
- c. To audit the books of the Comintern.

The Commission was expressly forbidden to interfere in the political, organizational or administrative conflicts occurring within the sections of the Comintern.

Extremely little information is available on the activities of the ~~ICC~~ ^{ICC}. According to a report made at the Seventh World Congress, the Commission was concerned from 1929 to 1931 with disciplinary cases involving the leadership of the sections, while after 1931 it investigated cases of "individual party members" only.

Before 1935 the ICC also assisted the sections in "liquidating the Trotskyite elements" and "fought against the right deviators who were ideologically exposed but not organizationally smashed at the Sixth World Congress." It is unknown, however, how the ICC implemented this police function.

From a financial report made by the ICC at the Seventh World Congress, it appears that the auditing activities of the Commission covered only the overt aspects of Comintern finances. However, the presence of the German Communist, Hugo Eberlein, on the ICC (1935) who was a field supervisor for the Comintern's Finance Department (see below) points to the fact that the ICC was also concerned with the clandestine aspects of Comintern finances.

In 1925, the ICC was composed of the following members:

Angaretis, Alexander	(Lithuania)
Astrogilado	(Brazil)
Browder, Earl	(USA)
Cachin, Marcel	(France)
Gennari, Edigio	(Italy)
Kabakchiev, Christo	(Bulgaria)
Koenig	(Germany)
Kohn, Felix	(USSR)
Kreibich, Karl	(Czechoslovakia)
Larson, Aksel	(Denmark)
Murphy, J. T.	(Great Britain)
Pogelmann	(Estonia)
Pruchniak	(Poland)
Shofik	(Turkey)
Solz	(USSR)
Stirner	(Mexico)
Stuchka, P. I.	(Latvia)

In 1935, the ICC was composed of the following members:

Angaretis, Alexander	(Lithuania)
Anwelt, Jan	(Born in Livonia)
Chou Ho-sin	(China)
Dengel, Philipp	(Germany)
Eberlein, Hugo	(Germany)
Ferdi	(Turkey)
Grzegorzewski	(Poland)
Iskrov (or Iskecov)	

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Korrigan, Peter	(Great Britain)
Krayevsky	(Poland)
Maggi	(Italy)
Minor, Lazar	(Poland)
Monmousseau, Gaston R.L.	(France)
Senander, Knut	(Sweden)
Shkiryatov	
Sirola, Yrjo	(Finland)
Smeral, Bohumir	(Czechoslovakia)
Stassova, Helen	(USSR)
Tskhakaya	(Georgia)
Valetski, G.	(Poland)
Walecki, H.	

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III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (ECCI)*

A. Principal Functions.

The ECCI was the central executive agency of the Comintern, and, as such, the actual international center of the world party. It comprised at one time a staff of approximately 500 on the headquarters level in Moscow, and a minimum of twice that number in field installations, i.e., in the areas of the national sections.

A preliminary assessment of ECCI functions can be made from the Comintern statutes themselves--especially those functions concerned with the political steering and control of the national sections:

- a. To approve or disapprove the political programs of the sections. In case of the ECCI's refusal to endorse a program, the section concerned can appeal to the World Congress.
- b. To issue obligatory instructions (directives) to the sections for immediate implementation. The section can appeal against these directives to the World Congress, but is obliged to carry them out pending the decision of the Congress.
- c. To annul or amend decisions of the party congresses and central committees of the sections.
- d. To expel from the Comintern entire sections, groups or individuals who violate the program and rules of the Comintern, or the decisions of the World Congress and the ECCI.
- e. To accept affiliation of organizations and parties sympathetic to Communism, and to accept the resignation of individuals or groups belonging to the Comintern.
- f. To supervise the creation of illegal apparatus on the national level.
- g. To levy dues on the sections.

The principal functions of the ECCI were roughly equivalent to those of a Central Committee on the national Party level. A national Central Committee, with its overt and covert executive-administrative apparatus, controls the strategic and tactical actions of all regional, sectional, and local elements of the Party. Similarly, the ECCI operated as an international Central Committee controlling the national Central Committees of the sections--with the obvious exception of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The Comintern occasionally took pains to stress the important roles played by members of the national sections in its headquarters organization, but actual control was firmly established in the hands of the Central Committee of the CPSU. This potent fact was legalized by the statutes of the Comintern which stated that "the bulk of the work and responsibility in the ECCI lies with the party of that country where.... the Executive Committee finds its residence...." From its inception to its extinction, the ECCI had its headquarters in Moscow.

An additional "legal" basis for the influence of the CPSU was secured through the statutory requirement that out of the fifteen to seventeen decisive votes in the ECCI five were to be reserved for the Party in whose geographical area the ECCI was located. Thus, an interlocking directorate between the Comintern and the CPSU was created, and leaders of the latter such as Stalin, Khamuilsky, Kuusinen, Lozovski, Molotov, Piatnitzky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, and Radek, occupied key positions in the Comintern hierarchy. A report by a renegade American Communist goes so far as to claim that

* For a list of ECCI members from 1919-1935, see Appendix B.

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the actual organizational machinery of the Comintern was at one time controlled by a "small commission" composed of three members of the CPSU -- Mamulsky, Kuusinen, and Piatnitsky -- which accordingly constituted a top-level command group inside the ECCI executive apparatus such as is found today within the Politburo of several of the major Parties.

B. General Structure.

Since the main function of the ECCI was that of an international Central Committee, its structure closely paralleled the customary (post-1924) organization of a national Central Committee. The following comparison of the ECCI and the Central Executive Committee of the CPSU makes this equivalence clear:

<u>Central Committee, CPSU</u>	<u>ECCI</u>
Elected by All-Union Party <u>Congress</u>	Elected by World <u>Congress</u>
Executive power concentrated in <u>Central Committee</u>	Executive power concentrated in <u>ECCI</u>
Policy-making functions discharged through Politbureau Orgbureau Secretariat	Policy-making functions discharged through Praesidium which operates through Political Commission Orgbureau Secretariat
Disciplinary control maintained through <u>Party Control Commission</u> - <u>Central Auditing Commission</u>	Disciplinary and auditing control maintained through <u>International Control Commission</u>
Control of propaganda through <u>Agitprop Department</u>	Control of propaganda through <u>Agitprop Department</u>
Organizational control of subordinate Party units through <u>Organization and Instruction Department</u> (now Department for Checking Party Organs)	Organizational control of sections through <u>Organization Department</u>
Control of Party personnel and Party security through <u>Cadre Department</u>	Control of personnel and of security of sections through <u>Cadre Department</u>
Control of political intelligence concerning subordinate Party units through <u>Information Section</u> (now under Organization and Instruction Department)	Control of political intelligence concerning sections through <u>Information Department</u>
Control of government and auxiliary mass organizations through <u>Politbureau</u>	Control of auxiliary international mass organizations through <u>Praesidium</u>

Individual elements of the ECCI structure are, however, not duplicated in the conventional Central Committee pattern. The maintenance of international liaison was clearly a monopoly of the ECCI and was concentrated on the clandestine level, in the International Liaison Section (OIS). The establishment of permanent bureaus in the areas of the sections, as well as the despatch of representatives and instructors, were also prerogatives of the ECCI. In general, however, the ECCI machine was a replica of any Central Committee, and conversely, the principal departments of the sections' Central Committees were international extensions of ECCI departments.

C. The Plenum.

Like the national Central Committee, the ECCI was not a permanent body, but convened periodically in plenary and enlarged plenary sessions of which thirteen have come to notice during the period between 1919

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and 1935. Between sessions, the work of the ECCI was carried on by its permanent agencies (see below) the key positions of which were, as a rule, staffed with ECCI members.

As a committee sitting in occasional plenary sessions, the ECCI simply represented an assembly of Communists who played a leading role in their national sections. Membership in the ECCI was not shrouded in secrecy, and the Comintern and Party press normally published the names of elected members who, with the exception of delegates from illegal parties, used no cover names to obscure their identity.

The "theses" and "resolutions" arrived at in these sessions supplemented the theoretical and programmatic decisions of the World Congresses and were, although general in nature, binding for all echelons of the Comintern. Through them the Comintern strategists expressed their authoritative appraisal of the conflicting forces in the political world arena. After a first period of "acute revolutionary situations" which was concluded with the defeat of the proletariat in Germany and other countries (1923), the Plenum acknowledged an "offensive of capital", the end of immediate revolutionary situations in Europe, and the shifting of the "revolutionary wave" to the colonial countries. By 1928, after a period of "capitalist reconstruction" the "relative stabilization of capitalism" became the pronounced basis of Communist strategy. In 1930, however, the Tenth Plenum announced that because of the crisis in the United States the pace of revolutionary developments would increase. The Eleventh Plenum (April 1931) found that "because of the deepening of the economic crisis and the increasing chances for a revolutionary crisis in a series of countries" the danger of an armed intervention against the USSR had increased, and described the primary task of the sections as the prevention of a war against the Soviet Union, especially through the conquest of the Socialist-led and therefore pro-bourgeois working class ("united front from below"). In 1932, the Twelfth Plenum announced the "end of capitalist stabilization" and acknowledged an "upsurge of revolutionary activities" in various countries, noting, however, the absence of immediate revolutionary situations and placing emphasis on the necessity of preventing a war against the Soviet Union by smashing the influence of the Social Democrats and by popularizing the Soviet Union.

It is perfectly clear that such general pronouncements as these were not sufficient to give the sections adequate tactical direction. The theses and resolutions of both the World Congress and the ECCI Plenum constituted compendia of basic guidance for the sections. The precise and practical direction of the sections, however, emanated from the permanent political steering agencies of the ECCI--the actual managerial board of the Comintern.

D. The Permanent Agencies.

The permanent working departments and agencies of the ECCI carried out a vast assortment of assignments and functions which can very roughly be separated into political-propaganda direction and subversive action. No clear-cut differentiations of these two categories of activity can be made, nor did individual departments and sub-agencies of the ECCI confine their activities exclusively to one or the other field. In broad terms, however, the political direction was carried out primarily on a legal, i.e., public or overt basis, though illegal or clandestine elements were often directly involved, while the executive work on subversive action abroad (financing, sabotage, espionage, revolutionary action) was naturally protected by rigid security measures. The primary ECCI agencies concerned with political direction were the Praesidium, the Political Commission and Organization Bureau, the Political Secretariat, and the Sectional Secretariats. The primary action or action-service agencies of the ECCI comprised the Organization (later Cadre) Department, the Department for International Liaison, and the Finance Department. In addition, a variety of field stations and individual representatives were established by ECCI headquarters in the field to act as liaison and relay points between the Moscow headquarters and the national sections. These three groups of ECCI departments and agencies are analyzed in the following three chapters.

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IV. PRIMARY POLITICAL STEERING AGENCIES OF THE ECCI

Of the permanent agencies authorized by the ECCI to work out political strategy and tactics within the framework of the theses and resolutions of the World Congresses and of the Plenary Sessions of the ECCI, the Praesidium apparently represented the supreme authority. However, in the later period of the Comintern, especially after 1935, the Political Secretariat appears to have absorbed much of the original rank of the Praesidium, if not a substantial portion of its functions. Key positions in both bodies were held by ECCI members, since the Praesidium--which was elected by the Plenum--itself appointed the members of the Political Secretariat. According to an ECCI decision of 1924, no less than fifteen ECCI members were obliged to reside in Moscow.

A. The Praesidium.*

Consisting of varying numbers of "full" and "alternate" members, the Praesidium (often referred to as the Board of Directors) was originally headed by a chairman--the "president of the ECCI" in a technical sense--who was elected by the World Congress as a testimonial to his superior position. However, when Zinoviev, the last Praesidium chairman, was dismissed in 1926, the office was discontinued.

The domination of the Praesidium by the CPSU is clearly indicated by the fact that its key members were drawn from the top rank of the CPSU leadership. Bukharin (member until 1928), Zinoviev, (member until 1926) and RADEK (member from 1920-1922) were the chief Comintern theoreticians and ideologists until they were liquidated in Stalin's purges. Piatnitzky (member from 1927-1931) was the organizational brain of the Comintern during a vital period of its "centralization" program. Other Russian Bolsheviks in the Praesidium were Manuilski (member since 1924), Kuusinen (member since 1920), Lozovski, head of the Profintern (member since 1926), Molotov (member from 1927-1928), Moskvina @ Trilisser, (member since 1935), and Stalin, who belonged to the Praesidium from 1924.

Of the non-Russian Praesidium members, only Togliatti (Italy), Kolarov (Bulgaria) and the late Zetkin (Germany) had a long record of membership in the Praesidium.

The last Praesidium, elected in 1935, included the following non-Russian members: Cachin (France), Dimitrov (Bulgaria), Togliatti (Italy), Foster (USA), Gottwald (Czechoslovakia), Koplonig (Austria), Linderoth (Sweden), Marty (France), Okano (Japan), Pieck (Germany) and Thorez (France).

Meetings of the Praesidium took place at approximately six months' intervals, with eleven members considered a quorum. An appraisal of the directing activities of the Praesidium is made difficult by the fact that the Political Secretariat and even field agencies of the Comintern, such as the Western European Bureau (see below), issued political directives over their own signature and on the same level with the Praesidium. Lack of conclusive evidence precludes a more precise delineation of praesidial functions, and it will be best to assume at present that the Praesidium and the Political Secretariat formed a tight organizational entity.

1. Politbureau and Orgbureau. The Praesidium apparently functioned through two agencies: the Political Bureau (Politbureau) and the Organizational Bureau (Orgbureau).

a. The Politbureau, the existence of which has been reported by a single source of unknown reliability, may have represented the top working policy leadership of the ECCI, and was reported in 1924 as consisting of five Praesidium members and the Secretary General of the Comintern.

* For a list of members see Appendix C.

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b. The Orgbureau, the existence of which is definitely established, consisted, in 1924, of three members of the Secretariat, the chairman of the Finance Commission, the chief of the International Liaison Department (OMS), and two Praesidium members. In 1926, it was composed of Manuilsky, Treint, Kuusinen, Smoral, Dimitrov, Ferguson and Togliatti (all Praesidium members and with the exception of Manuilsky and Treint, Comintern secretaries), Piatnitsky, Chief of OMS, and the chiefs of the functional departments of the ECCI (see below). In 1928 the Orgbureau was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Political Secretariat.

In June 1925, a standing Committee on Military Questions was incorporated into the Orgbureau. Its chairman was Bulharin and its deputy chairman Manuilsky and Kuusinen. Other members were reported as Lankky (sic); Borzin, chief of Red Army Military Intelligence; Herbert, member of the General Staff of the Red Army, and consultant on European and American problems; Voskrossensky, member of the General Staff of the Red Army and Far Eastern expert; Dombitzky, Red Army Military Intelligence and expert on military questions concerning Great Britain and India. This Committee analyzed and judged the feasibility of plans for revolutionary military action prepared by the sections. It is not known whether it was also engaged in direct overall planning of revolutionary strategy.

2. Standing Commissions of the Praesidium.

In forming decisions, the Praesidium--and through it the Political Secretariat--was assisted by several standing commissions of which the most important was the Political Commission.

a. The Political Commission--which may have grown out of the previously mentioned Political Commission of the World Congress--appears to have analyzed the political conduct of individual sections and worked out the proper tactics for each party. In the years 1930-32, for example, a great amount of its effort was spent on the problems of the French Section. In 1933 Luigi Longo (Italy), and Andre Marty (France) were members of the Political Commission.

b. The Trade Union Commission was established in 1926 and consisted of Zinoviev, Piatnitsky, Bulharin, Tomski, Lozovsky, Treint, Togliatti, Ferguson, Smoral, Geschko and Nin. In 1933, the Commission was headed by Lozovsky, with Gusev as his assistant.

c. The American Commission, at a session on 26 February 1926, was composed of Robson, chairman; Kuusinen (USSR) secretary; Brown @ Braun @ Ewert (Germany); Voitinski (USSR); Katayama (Japan); Dzhennary (sic); Manuilsky (USSR); Pepper, @ Pogany (Hungary); Somaron (sic); Thaelman (Germany). At a session of this Commission on 6 May 1929, Stalin called for an open letter in the name of the ECCI to the members of the Communist Party of America, demanding that the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the American Party be altered, and that Lovestone, Party secretary, be recalled. In 1933 Kuusinen was chairman, and the following were members: Gusev, @ Drabkin, @ Davidovich, @ Green; Manuilsky; Molotov; and Mikhailov, @ Williams, also Comintern representative to the U.S. in 1929 and 1930.

d. The Negro Commission, in 1926, included the following members: Billings (US); Small (US); Johnson (US); Janson (Holland); Malakka (NEI) Safarov (USSR); Katayama (Japan); Budonga (sic); Djoss (sic); Bunting (So. Africa).

e. The French Commission, in which Manuilsky played a leading role (1930).

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f. The Balkan Commission, appointed by the Fifth World Congress in 1924, was composed of Zinoviev, Trotzky, Braun, @ Ewert (Germany); Treint (France); Muna (Czechoslovakia); Bordiga (Italy); Stewart (England); Valetsky (Poland); Varga (Hungary). At its first session (20 June 1924) the following representatives from the Balkan Sections were present: Kolarov, Dimitrov (Bulgaria); Boskovich, Radich (Yugoslavia); Popescu (Rumania); Maximos (Greece); Dzeli (Turkey).

B. The Political Secretariat.*

1. Structure and Function.

Elected by the Praesidium, the Political Secretariat was essentially the executive agency of the Praesidium, although it also had the statutory power "to make decisions", and the political instructions it issued to the sections were as binding as those of the Praesidium. It appears, however, that in the course of time, this overlapping of functions was reduced to a minimum.

Structurally, the Political Secretariat was headed by the Secretary General assisted by several permanent or alternate secretaries, a clerical staff, and an administrative office (chancellery).

The pivotal position of the Political Secretariat is illustrated by the fact that it controlled, through its secretaries, not only the policy-making activities of the Regional Secretariats attached to it (see below), but also the political-propaganda as well as the action functional-departments of the ECCI which were organized on a functional-executive level not unlike the departments of a national Central Committee. In this connection, the ECCI decreed as early as 1926 that each secretary of the Political Secretariat was to "maintain liaison" with such ECCI departments as the Agitprop, Organization, Information, Publishing, International Liaison, etc. In 1928, the Orgbureau was, as previously noted, subordinated to the Political Secretariat leaving the latter's position greatly strengthened.

Insofar as the political steering activities of the secretariat were concerned, some of its tactical instructions to the sections were issued openly via the Comintern and Party press, or by letters and cables. On the basis of a provisional analysis of those published materials, however, it would appear that the bulk of the Secretariat's instructions were communicated through the clandestine channels of the International Liaison Department and the permanent bureaus (see below). Conversely, the Central Committees of the Sections, which were obliged to submit minutes of their meetings and confidential progress reports to the ECCI used the same covert channels for their communications with the Political Secretariat. A comparison of the overt output of the Political Secretariat with that of the Praesidium, indicates that the percentage of published Secretariat instructions was considerably higher than that of praesidial edicts. The reason for this phenomenon becomes evident at least from 1935 on when all known members of the Secretariat were identical with Praesidium members, i.e., Dimitrov, Togliatti, Gottwald, Kuusinen, Manuilski, Marty, Ploek, Florin, Moskvina @ Trilisser, and Wang Ming.

The fact that Dimitrov, the Secretary General, was elected by the Seventh World Congress (1935) -- an honor previously bestowed only on the chairman of the Praesidium -- also testifies to the increased significance of the Secretariat. As a matter of fact, since no World Congress or plenary sessions of the ECCI were held after 1935, it appears clear that the Secretariat virtually replaced the Praesidium and therefore, in practical terms, became the effective directing center of the Comintern.

* For a list of Secretariat members see Appendix D.

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Behind this development apparently lay the realization that a basic change had taken place within the Communist International. Whereas--as Pieck stated at the Seventh World Congress--the Communist parties of the world had been more propaganda groups in the late twenties, they were, in 1935, beginning to be transformed into strong mass parties and had developed leaders who were able to decide independently, though on the basis of decisions of Comintern congresses and plenary sessions, the most complicated political and tactical questions of their countries. Accepting Pieck's estimate, the Seventh World Congress accordingly gave the ECCI the following instructions:

"while shifting the main stress of its activity to the elaboration of fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete and specific conditions obtaining in each country, and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in the internal organizational matters of the communist parties; to assist systematically in the formation and training of cadres as well as genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist parties so that these parties will be able, at the sharpest turn of events, to find, independently and quickly on the basis of decisions of congresses... and plenums, the correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement; to render effective aid to the Communist parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents; to assist the Communist parties in making use of their own experiences as well as the experiences of the world communist movement, avoiding, however, the mechanical application of the experience of one country to the other, and the substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulation for concrete Marxian analysis; to ensure closer contact between leading bodies of the Comintern and the sections of the Comintern by still more active participation on the part of authoritative representatives of the most important sections in the day-to-day work of the ECCI".

The Political Secretariat was clearly in a much better position to implement these functions than the irregularly meeting Praesidium, for it had at its disposal adequate machinery (in the form of the Sectional Secretariats) for maintaining close contact with the sections, for the clarification of the political line, and for the training of section leaders, as well as machinery for providing practical assistance to the sections in the form of the Org, Finance and International Liaison Departments.

2. Sectional Secretariats (Leenderssekretariate).

The bureaucratic and, at times, academic qualities of the long-distance political steering performed by the Praesidium and the Political Secretariat were bound to produce friction between the Comintern and the sections, especially the parties which were gradually coming of age. In 1926, therefore, machinery was created in order to provide the Comintern with expert native consultants and to give the sections a voice in the formulation of Comintern policies as well as a training ground for their future leaders. To this end there were established under the Political Secretariat, so-called Sectional Secretariats (or Leenderssekretariate) which represented consultative working bodies responsible for one or more geographically related sections. The chiefs of the Sectional Secretariats were members of the Political Secretariat and, in some cases, members of the Praesidium as well. Under their direction worked native Communists assigned to the Sectional Secretariats and serving in the following capacities:

- a. Reporters, i.e., highly informed consultants whose advice was sought by the Political Secretariat or the Praesidium.
- b. Representatives of the sections, who looked out for the interests of their parties without, however, having any decisive voice.

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- c. Apprentices who were attached to a Sectional Secretariat for training purposes.

It is evident that by this procedure closer political integration could be achieved, between the ECCI and the sections, and the instructions of the Seventh World Congress to the ECCI (noted above) testify to the importance attached to the institution of the Sectional Secretariats, sub-commissions of which were even permitted to draw up their own instructions to the field.

Previous to the Seventh World Congress, another method of integrating the work of the Sectional Secretariats with the policy-making of the Comintern was reportedly represented by the so-called "Little" and "Big Commissions". These commissions consisted of an otherwise unidentified core of five or six members (Praesidium?) which was enlarged, in the case of the "Big Commissions", by all the Reporters of the Launderssekretariate, and in the case of the "Little Commissions" by one Reporter or the respective Secretary. The exact functions of these commissions, however, are unknown (probably policy coordination), and it appears doubtful that they existed after 1935 when the leading Praesidium members ran the Political Secretariat.

The following eleven Sectional Secretariats were reported as of 1926:

1. France, Italy,) Chief: Jacob (France)
Switzerland,)
Belgium,)
French Colonies)
2. Germany) Chief: Geschke (Germany)
3. Czechoslovakia) Chief: Smoral (Czechoslovakia)
Austria, Hungary)
4. England, Australia,) Chief: Ferguson (Great Britain) for the
Ireland, S. Africa,) Netherlands and dominions;
India, Netherlands,) Chief: Roy (India) for all colonies.
including Colonies)
5. USA, Canada, Japan) Chief: Pepper @ Pogany (Hungary)
6. Sweden, Norway,) Chief: Kilbum (Sweden)
Denmark, Iceland)
7. Spain, Portugal,) Chief: Droz (Switzerland)
Latin America)
8. Poland, Lithuania,) Chief: Kuusinen (Finland)
Latvia, Estonia,)
Finland)
9. Bulgaria, Rumania,) Chief: Dimitrov (Bulgaria)
Yugoslavia, Greece)
10. USSR) Chief: Piatnitzky (USSR)
11. Far & Middle East) Chief: Petrov (USSR)

By 1929, however, a reorganization had apparently taken place, and only eight Sectional Secretariats remained:

1. Central European Secretariat for Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and the Netherlands.
2. Balkan Secretariat for Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece.

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3. Anglo-American Secretariat for England, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A., Canada, Philippines, Ireland.
4. Scandinavian Secretariat for Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland.
5. Polish-Baltic Secretariat for Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland.
6. Latin Secretariat for France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Luxembourg.
7. Latin American Secretariat for Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia, etc.
8. Eastern Secretariat for China, Japan, Korea, India, Indochina, Indo China and French Colonies, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Persia.

This breakdown is, of course, not final, and changes in the organization of Sectional Secretariats probably occurred after 1929.

C. The Political-Propaganda Departments.

As stated previously, the Political Secretariat had at its disposal various functional agencies (so called Departments) which served either political-propagandistic or clandestine action purposes.

Among the former belonged the Agitprop Department, the Information Department, the Editorial Board of the Communist International, the Publishing Department, the International Women's Secretariat and the Cooperative Department. Since all these departments were more or less connected with the political aspects of the work of the ECCI discussed in the immediately preceding sections, they will, although of lesser importance, be discussed first, followed by an analysis of the exceedingly important action agencies: the Organization, Finance and International Liaison Departments.

1. The Agitprop (Agitation and Propaganda)* Department

Possibly succeeding a Department of which only the initials O.A.O.** (Agitation-Operative Department?) are known, the Agitprop Department was apparently created after the Fifth World Congress (1924). By March 1925 it was well established, and had four sub-sections: Agitation, Propaganda, Press, and Exploitation of Acquired Experience.

In 1934 the Department was headed by Bela Kun. Its functions were to organize the agitation and propaganda work of the Comintern; to direct the activities of the corresponding Agitprop departments of the national sections; to study, systematize and harmonize the practices of the sections; and to train suitable personnel.

The following illustrate the activities of the department's subsections.

a. Agitation Section: In March 1925, this section had initiated several international campaigns, among them the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, the first anniversary of Lenin's death, the anniversary of the October Revolution, etc. In each case the section had supplied themes for orators and material for the press, giving, however, only general directives with enough leeway for the national parties to adjust the material to the prevailing political situation. The agitation Section also had mapped out international Communist holidays for 1926, i.e., Woman's Day, Youth Day, Press Week, etc.

* The term "agitation" in Communist parlance denotes propagandistic action directed at neutral or hostile groups, whereas "propaganda" signifies training and schooling in Communist doctrine.

** For a table of organization of O.A.O.--of unknown reliability--see Appendix E.

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In 1927 the following international campaigns were carried out by the various national parties with the support of the Agitation section: Lenin Week, Anniversary of the February Revolution, May Day 1927, Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, and Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.

b. Propaganda Section: In 1925 this section whose principal objective it was to "assist the parties in the organization of training courses and in the publication of Marxist and Leninist Literature", had prepared a detailed program for elementary courses to be held within local cell organizations, as well as a program for schools on the national level. In the Spring of 1925, the section was to begin international courses in Moscow for about 40 students. The courses were to last from 18 months to 2 years with the objective of training cadres of responsible functionaries. The section also supplied theoretical Communist publications abroad with articles, source material, and with criticism. It prepared an edition of the works of Lenin in several languages, as well as a bibliography of publications on Leninist theory. The section maintained liaison with the Lenin School and the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow.

c. Press Section: In March 1924 the following personnel were reported as working in the Press Bureau of the Comintern which may have been the predecessor of the Press Section: Chiefs: Kuusinen, Balabanova. Members: Sosnovsky, Novsky, Frunk, Varga, Ryazanov, Alpari (possibly identical with Marini @ Maurio), Landa, Karsky, Solucky, Price, Gerson, Wolfstein, and Kun.

By 1925, the Press Section had furnished articles and pamphlets for the Communist press, and organized the "Rabkor" system of workers' correspondents who furnished the party press with personal letters illustrating the class struggle with their individual experience. The section also had organized in Moscow a telegraphic news agency of the weekly publication International Press Correspondence (Inprecor) in order to inform the sections rapidly of the work of the ECCI and the particular party line in a specific question.* It could therefore be assumed that the Press Section ran the entire Inprecor news service for the extensive use of the national party press. The weekly publication, Inprecor which appeared for the first time in 1922, was an official organ of the Communist International recording the progress and fortunes of the movement throughout the world, including the official Comintern party line. From 1927-1933 it was published in five languages in Berlin (Editor, Pilz). After 1933, the German edition was published under the title Rundschau Ueber Politik, Wirtschaft Und Arbeiterbewegung by the Universum Bucherei in Basle. The English edition was published in England after 1933, and was succeeded there in July 1940 by World News and Views, a weekly which continues to appear up to the present.

2. Information Department.

The Information Department, reorganized after the Fifth World Congress (1924), was responsible for the collection and dissemination to the ECCI of intelligence concerning the status of the national parties as well as the politico-economic conditions abroad. It was also charged with the dissemination of information to the national sections, concerning the work of the ECCI and the status of the other sections. To this end, "reporteurs" for groups of countries were attached to the department. Liaison with the national sections was maintained by special "informers" who were designated by the National Central Committees.

* This telegraphic agency remains unidentified. In ca. 1933, the Runag (Rundschau Nachrichten Agentur) was established in Zurich and supplied the Communist press with cables free of charge. It is possible that this agency was run by the Press Section of Agit-Prop.

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The research workers of the department were to supply the ECCI and its policy making organs with the necessary background material, such as party statistics, evaluation of political events, etc. Whether the Department used any "secret" sources, or engaged in clandestine intelligence activities, is not known. It is likely, however, that--at least in its early days--it used "overt" material only, such as reports made by the national sections and Comintern representatives; protocols of sessions of the Praesidium, the Orgbureau and the ECCI commissions; clippings from the Communist and anti-Communist press, etc.

In March 1925, the Department prepared

a. Daily briefs, entitled "Facts", containing the most important political events of the day.

b. Special "Reports" on the Communist movement in each country.

c. "Letter of Information from the Secretariat of the ECCI"; for use of the national sections.

d. Special projects, i.e., a questionnaire on structure and membership statistics of the Communist parties and the labor movement abroad; a study of the attitudes of the bourgeois and social-democratic press toward the Trotsky problem, etc.

The Information Department was also in charge of the library of the ECCI and maintained a reference service for ECCI functionaries.

Reportedly independent but possibly combined with the Information Department, was the Economic Information Department under the Hungarian Communist and professor of economics, Varga. This department, created in 1924, had a subsection in the Soviet Embassy in Berlin staffed by Boer, Hay and Aquí.

3. Editorial Board of "The Communist International".

The Communist International a monthly magazine published since April 1919 in English, Russian, French, German, Spanish and Chinese, was the official organ of the ECCI. Its editorial board was directly appointed by the Praesidium. This board is frequently reported as a separate ECCI department.

In July 1924, the management of the Communist International was entrusted to Kuusinen, Martynov and Petrov. In December 1924, the editorial board was composed of: Zinoviev, chief editor; Kuusinen, Martynov, (general questions); Kun, (party life); Pepper, (world politics); Varga, (economics); Smolianski, (labor movement); Humbert-Droz, (Latin countries); Neumann, (Germany); Petrov, (Orient); Stein, (bibliography); Smolianski, (administration).

The magazine itself represented - on a higher theoretical level than Inproccor - the official point of view of the ECCI and contained ECCI decisions and directives to the national parties, as well as articles, notes, chronicle of events, etc.

The Communist International was published in Moscow. Its English edition was published by the British Communist Party at rather irregular intervals. A German edition appeared, after 1933, in Zurich or Basle.

In June 1943, the magazine was succeeded by War and the Working Class,--published by Trud, Moscow--which appears now under the title New Times in Russian, English, French and German, with overt distribution points throughout the world.*

* For a list of distribution points see Appendix F.

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4. Publishing Department.

The Publishing Department was founded in 1925 in order to coordinate the publishing work of the national sections, and in order to render assistance to publishing houses abroad owned by Communist parties, left Marxists or by sympathizers. It is not known whether such assistance included financial subsidies as well as assistance in planning and recruiting of authors. The scope of the work of the department can be judged by a statement in Inprecor (#60, Sept. 1928) according to which Communist literature was published in 40 countries in 47 languages.

Before ca. 1935, the publishing houses most likely to have been supported by the department, were:

Czechoslovakia:	Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung, Prague 7, Letohradská 32.
Denmark:	Mondes Forlag Copenhagen, Vesterport
France:	Universum Bucherei Strasbourg, Place du Corbeau
Germany:	Neuer Deutscher Verlag, Universum Bucherei
Great Britain:	Martin Lawrence, Ltd. 33 Great James St., London, W.C. 1 Workers Bookshop 39 Clerkenwell Green, London, W.C. 1 Modern Books 46 Theobalds Road, London, W. L.
Holland:	Uitgeverij Pegasus Amsterdam C, Nieuwe Prinsengracht 29 huis
Switzerland:	Arbeiter Buchhandlung Basel, Hammerstrasse 136 Ring-Verlag, A. G. Zurich, Bahnhofstr. 5 Universum Bucherei Basel, Spitalstr. 19, and Zurich
USA:	International Publishers Ltd. 381 4th Ave., N.Y., N. Y. Workers Library Publishers 35 East Street, N.Y., N. Y.

5. International Women's Secretariat.

The International Women's Secretariat was established in Moscow in November 1920 according to a resolution passed by the Comintern~~s~~-inspired First International Conference of Women, Moscow, July 1920. The German woman Communist Klara Zetkin was made international secretary. From 1921-1924, the Secretariat was subdivided into two departments, one for Western Europe (with headquarters in Berlin) and one for Oriental countries. In 1924, both departments merged. The main function of the Secretariat was to direct the work of the special women's departments created within the Central Committee of the national parties. From 1926 on, it published the International Bulletin of the International Women's Secretariat of the ECCI in four languages. It organized international

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women's conferences, and designated March 8th as the day consecrated to the mobilization of women. Before 1933, the "Rote Frauen und Mädchenbund" in Germany, led for many years by Klara Zetkin, was under control of the Secretariat.

6. Cooperative Department.

The Cooperative Department was founded in 1921 to direct the work of Communist fractions in non-Communist cooperative societies. It supported the work of the revolutionary opposition within the International Cooperative Alliance, a society founded in 1895.

From 1924 on, the section published a bulletin called International Cooperative Movement.

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pp. 26 ff.

Certain discrepancies have entered into the conversion of source references to GPU, OGPU, etc. Correctly,

GPU (State Political Directorate) established February 1922.

OGPU (United State Political Directorate) succeeded GPU in 1923.

NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) was formed in 1934 as a Union Commissariat and absorbed OGPU, whose secret sections emerged as

GUGB (Central Directorate of State Security).

GUGB/NKVD became an independent Commissariat, NKGB, in spring 1943 and a Ministry (MGB) in spring 1946.

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V. CLANDESTINE ACTION DEPARTMENTS

The three ECCI departments of Organization, International Liaison and Finance provided the basic network of clandestine communications and covert control of the international movement. Their activities illustrate the actual operational techniques employed by the Comintern in organizing, coordinating and financing the world party. Available evidence on the work of these departments is naturally limited since they operated clandestinely--moreover, their efficient functioning owed a great deal to Ossip Piatnitzky who directed all three departments from the mid-twenties to 1936 and, as an experienced Bolshevik revolutionary, had acquired considerable practical experience in underground work. It appears fairly clear that these three "conspiratorial" departments were connected on a headquarters and field level with the GPU/NKVD and with Red Army intelligence operations, and that through them connecting lines ran to the illegal organizations or apparatus of the sections.* The organizational and operational picture on the whole, however, is far from adequate, and the following three sections accordingly represent a highly tentative analysis.

A. The Organization (later Cadre) Department.

The overall function of the Org Department--which from 1928 was subordinated to the Political Secretariat through the Orgbureau--was to ensure the organization of the national parties according to the general principles developed by the Comintern as delineated in the so-called Musterstatut (model statute). This process (technically referred to as the "Bolshevization" of the sections) began in the second half of 1925, with a revision of the then existing statutes of the various national parties in accordance with the newly formulated requirements. In this connection an official document prepared for ECCI members in Moscow (1925) ascribes the following specific functions to the Org Department:

- a. to elaborate regulations for the structure of the central and local organs of the party;
- b. to organize communist minorities (fractions) in non-communist organizations;
- c. to study and evaluate pertinent reports from the sections;
- d. to supervise the execution of ECCI resolutions pertaining to the creation of factory cells;
- e. to supply to central and local organizations as well as to the sections of the Comintern a staff of instructors recruited from among functionaries most experienced in organizational work.

Concerning the machinery set up to achieve the "Bolshevization" of the sections, it is known only that the Org Department organized so-called "Organization Conferences" at which the principles of party organization were discussed with competent section personnel. The first Org Conference took place in 1925, the second in February 1926. The latter was composed of delegates from the CPSU, functionaries of the Org Department, and special "orgdelegations" from the sections. In the field, the Org Department exercised supervisory functions through so-called "Org instructors" who assisted the sections in their organizational work. Beyond that, however, the actual activities of the Org Department remain largely unrevealed, and only from a comparative study of Party statutes can its efficacy be judged: the pattern of a model statute is unmistakably evident in overt Communist Party structure to this day.

* These illegal apparatuses were charged with the disintegration and subversion of opposition parties as well as the army and security forces, industrial espionage, the neutralization of hostile or defective elements within or outside the party, the acquisition and storage of arms, the training and organizing of military cadres for revolutionary action, etc. These apparatuses were independent clandestine organizations working parallel to the overt or legal party. Only infrequently did members and officials of the legal party hold positions in the illegal parallels.

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The organization of overt-legal Party machinery was apparently not the only concern of the Department. Some evidence indicates that it also played an important role in the organization of the illegal organizations or apparatus of the sections.

One Vassiliev, reportedly holding an office "similar to that of a Secretary in the Org Department," in 1930, forwarded (to the Communist Party of Canada) a long detailed instruction on the organization of illegal party work. The document, entitled "How the Comintern Formulates at Present the Problem of Organization", was used in the trials against Tim Buck and other Canadian Communists in 1932, and its authenticity is undisputed.

The connection of the Department with the illegal apparatus complex is further, and more convincingly, illustrated by several developments which took place in the early thirties, and apparently placed the GPU/ NKVD in control of the Org Department.

As a consequence of deteriorating Comintern security* and of the factional struggle between the Stalinists and Trotskyites and other deviationists, which shook the headquarters as well as the sections of the Comintern, the GPU/ NKVD was apparently called upon to take over the security functions for the Comintern and to direct the purge of all anti-Stalinist elements from the sections. It was therefore given a pivotal position in the Comintern apparatus and Mikhail Trilisser, Chief of the Foreign Directorate (INU) of the GPU and ECCI Praesidium member under the alias of Moskvina, about 1932 took over the Org Department which by virtue of its close ties with the Finance and International Liaison Departments was a key control point for the sections. Trilisser transformed the Org Department into the so-called Cadre Department replicas of which were organized by all the sections.

The main functions of the national Cadre Departments were the development of reliable activist leaders (Cadres) and the maintenance of physical and ideological Party security. The latter function included the surveillance of Party personnel** and the compilation of detailed personnel records, including biographical data on the individual involved as well as his friends and relatives. These personnel records were forwarded by the national Cadre Departments to the Cadre Department of the Comintern in Moscow. There they were used to build up a Central File of all Communists (and Communist sympathizers) in the world.

This Central File of the Comintern became, in the hands of the GPU, not only a powerful political weapon during the period of the purges, but also an extremely valuable recruiting and agent-checking aid for the GPU and its successor organizations, as well as for Red Army intelligence, both of which are known to have utilized extensively the illegal apparatus of the sections.***

* The Comintern had been penetrated in 1932 by Sochatski-Bratkovski (a member of the Polish Politbureau-in-exile and an agent for the Polish Government) and by the Hungarian police which had managed to infiltrate its agents into a secret meeting of Hungarian Communists in Moscow.

** In France, such supervision of Party members was reportedly maintained by the Section's Information Department, headed by Duclos in the early thirties.

*** Training of apparatus personnel, also under GPU-Red Army control, was primarily carried out by the M School in Moscow (see below).

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B. International Liaison Department (Otdel Mezhdunarodnykh Svyazey - OMS)

OMS was charged with the organization of the entire clandestine communications network of the Comintern, an extremely sensitive liaison function which had obviously to be carried out under rigid security precautions. In general, OMS operated in the field through its own installations and personnel, but it also utilized the organizational and operational facilities of Comintern auxiliaries.* Conversely, its assets in the field proved valuable to the GPU/NKVD and Red Army intelligence services. The communications network of the Comintern accordingly appears more as a system of shifting personnel and assignments than as a stable bureaucratically self-sufficient organization.

Basically the department was designed to service the Comintern only and provided:

identification papers, equipment, shelter, clandestine meeting places, and transportation for Comintern couriers, functionaries and other personnel;

facilities for the transmission of documents, funds, propaganda material, arms and other revolutionary equipment;

cover addresses, mail drops, safe-houses, etc.;

facilities and training of personnel for the maintenance of international wireless communications.

In addition, OMS collected information on the political views, activities, and personal affairs of Party members in the sections--a secondary party police function which supplemented the functions of the Cadre Department.

1. Headquarters Structure.

Headquarters of OMS, located in Moscow (and Leningrad?), was staffed, before 1924, with the following personnel: Rudnianski, Chairman; Nazaretian (@ Nazaretian, Nasseretchan), Deputy Chairman; Pavlovich; Rotschein (@ Rotstein); Zeitlin (@ Keitlin); Wilkinson. After 1924 Piatnitzky assumed command, assisted by Abramov @ Mirov, OMS chief for Europe from 1926-1930. In the late Thirties Piatnitzky was replaced by Mikhail Trilisser, chief of the Foreign Section of GUGB/NKVD.**

The Department, as such, included a "Central Passport Office" (i.e., a central document forging section), and a section for wireless communications to which a radio school was attached.

The Central Passport Office was, in 1931, headed by one Ryatt, and has been located both in the Interclub at 15 Prospekt Ogovodnikov, Leningrad and in the Comintern Building in Moscow.

The Section for Wireless Communications, headed by Abramov @ Mirov transmitted radio messages to the field and received incoming messages.

The Radio School (also known as Wilson School) which had been created in 1925 by Abramov @ Mirov, was located in the Moscow suburb of Motichov and served as a training center for young Communists from abroad who were to be used in the communications services of the Comintern. The curriculum of the courses included the Morse system, the installation of short wave receivers and transmitters, as well as ciphers and codes. For security reasons, cover names were used both by students

* The International of Seamen and Harbor Workers (ISH), by virtue of its maritime communication lines, appeared to have been of greatest use to OMS.

**OGPU (State Political Directorate) was changed to GUGB (Central Directorate of State Security) in 1934.

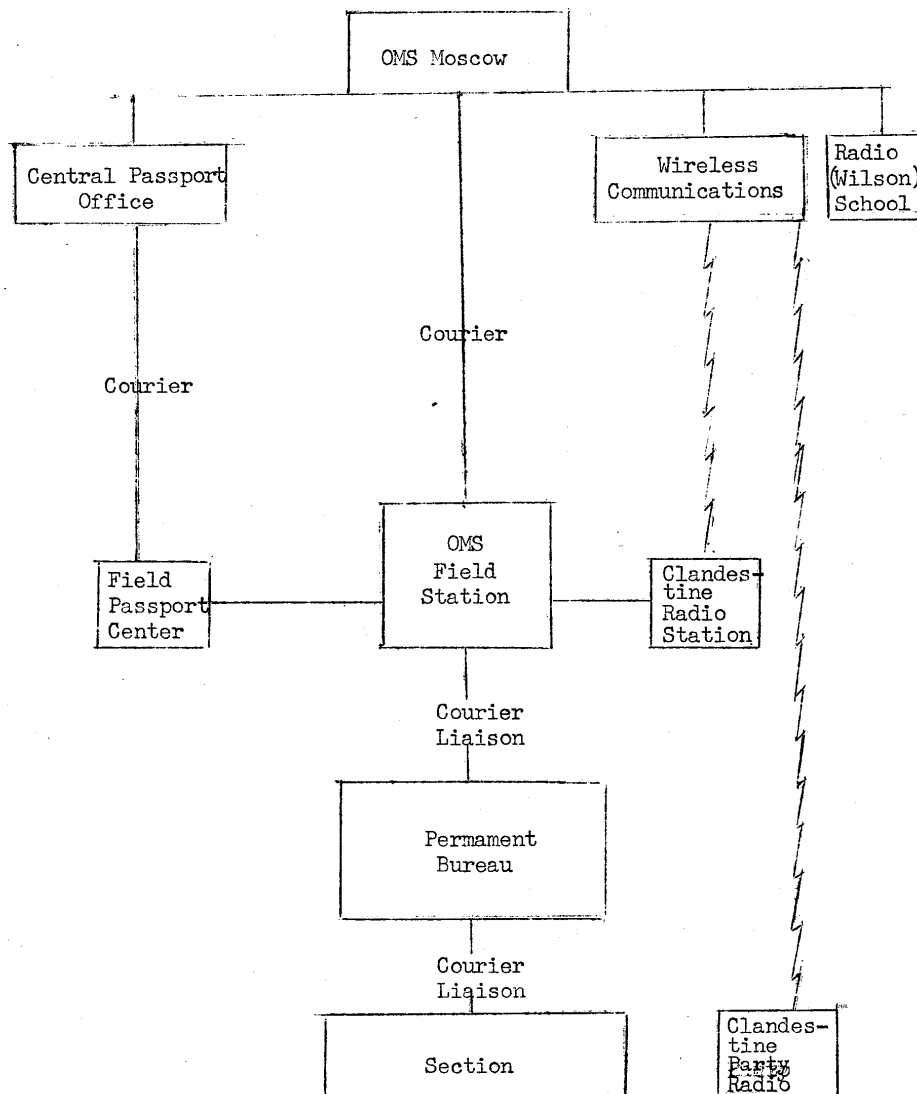
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and instructors; the latter were also employed as radio operators and code clerks. After completion of the course, students were given assignments by headquarters, and were sent abroad (rarely to the area of their native section) where they operated singly, frequently changing their domicile.

2. Field installations. The headquarters structure reflected itself on the field level (see chart below). OMS was represented in various areas by a field station which maintained liaison with a field branch of the Central Passport Office, and usually controlled a wireless radio station. At the disposal of the OMS chief was a chain of couriers who, among other functions, were charged with conducting functionaries travelling illegally across the frontiers of the country. OMS station chiefs were generally selected from among native Communists who were familiar with the area of their operations, and in several cases a station was run by husband and wife.

In general, it is clear that the OMS field stations serviced the Comintern and not the sections. At least several of the major national parties had their own wireless facilities for communications with the radio section of OMS in Moscow. In the field, OMS stations were attached to the Permanent Bureaus of the ECCI (see below) which used OMS channels for the distribution of funds and instructions.



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Wireless Stations of OMS and Sections.

Basle: In 1942/1943, a clandestine radio station near Basle was reported as servicing the Comintern and OMS/ Switzerland. During the same period the Swiss Communist Party operated its own radio station directly on the French border, near Neuchatel in the neighborhood of Lelocle. This station was directed by an elderly female member of the party, and transmitted political information to France, Italy, Spain, England and also to Moscow from where instructions were received.

Prague: In June 1941 the German Sicherheitsdienst intercepted wireless traffic between Moscow and Prague, and liquidated a secret radio station in Prague which was staffed by students of the OMS radio school.

Paris and Environs: Between 1942 and 1944, the French Communist Party operated four transmitters on Moscow and England wave lengths, and six other stations within France. Of the latter, one was located near Lille, the

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remainder near Paris. The transmitters of the French section were under the control of the Central Committee, and were occasionally used by several Red Army Military Intelligence agents when their own transmitters broke down. The radio expert of the French Communist Party was one Duval, a mechanical fitter, born in Marseilles, who had played a leading role in the French Communist youth movement and had been a wireless operator on board a French warship. Duval was assisted by one Schwaerzole (sic) who was in charge of the construction of transmitters and receivers, and had a workshop near Paris close to Longjumeau on the main road south of the city leading toward Etampes (Other reports indicate Le Pecq as the location of the workshop). In addition, Duval had at his disposal six storage places for accessories in apartments, garages, etc., located in various suburbs of Paris.

Rio de Janeiro: In 1939 the International of Seamen and Harbor workers reportedly operated a radio station in Rio.

3. OMS Relations with the Soviet Intelligence Services.

The connections between OMS and the Soviet Intelligence services, both at the headquarters level and in the field present a complex relationship which will be treated in a separate paper.

C. Finance Department.

The Finance Department under Piatnitzky supplemented the functions of the Org Department by channeling subsidies to the sections abroad, thus providing the necessary funds to parties which could not operate effectively on their own resources. In addition, the Department serviced the Comintern itself, controlling its administrative and operational expenditures and managing its income which was derived overtly from contributions made by the sections, and covertly from subsidies presumably received from the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union.

1. Comintern Income and Expenditures.

For obvious reasons, the transactions of the Finance Department were, on the whole, conducted clandestinely. Only a small segment of Comintern financial activity was revealed in the Comintern press, covering the "public" income of the Comintern and officially admitted subsidies for the sections as well as a few other insignificant expenditures. The following accounting of Comintern income and expenditure for the years 1928-1934 was presented by the International Control Commission at the Seventh World Congress (1935):

Income

Membership Dues*	\$6,164,590.03
Collections and contributions	407,569.69
Receipts from publishing houses, telegraph agencies and bulletins of press information.	<u>525,294.83</u>
Total for 1928-1934	<u>\$7,097,454.54</u>

* The sections were obliged to pay regular affiliation dues to the ECCI which they levied upon their members in the form of special dues in addition to the regular membership fees.

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Expenditures

Administrative Expenses (maintenance of staff, expenses of upkeep, etc.)	\$2,576,326.25
Postal and telegraph expenses	197,696.53
Subsidies to party press, pub- lishing houses and for cul- tural and educational expenses	3,966,209.72
Travelling expenses	<u>325,559.98</u>
Total for 1928-1934	\$7,069,792.48

These figures, correct as they may be, reveal only fragmentarily the scope of the activities of the Finance Department, and it is unequivocally clear that Comintern disbursements to the sections were not confined to press and propaganda subsidies. According to documentary evidence, the Far Eastern Bureau (located in Shanghai), in 1930 and 1931 alone, distributed to the seven sections under its jurisdiction approximately \$1,220,000, i.e., a third of the total subsidies officially admitted for the entire period of 1928-1934, and almost equal to the full amount of admitted party subsidies for 1930 and 1931. (\$1,712,909.32). Considering the fact that the Far Eastern Bureau expenditures supported only seven out of the 60 sections, dependent on the Comintern, and that subsidies to the Communist party of Great Britain in the early thirties amounted to about \$400,000 annually, it is evident that the Finance Department ran a subsidization program considerably larger than officially acknowledged, and one designed not only to support party press and propaganda efforts but also to cover the cost of elections, Comintern-initiated political campaigns, and, last but not least, the running expenses of the illegal apparatus of the sections. In addition to party subsidies, the Finance Department had to provide funds for the maintenance of the Permanent Bureaus (of which the Western European Bureau alone reportedly had as large a staff as Moscow headquarters), field representatives, instructors, couriers, Comintern publications, and training schools, OMS stations, passport-forging installations, wireless communications, as well as subsidies and operational funds for numerous Comintern auxiliaries.

The exact amount of money handled by the Finance Department is, of course, unknown, but it may be safely assumed that the admitted yearly expenditure average of \$1,000,000 was not at all sufficient to cover the cost of Comintern operations. It has been reported that from 1919-1933 the Comintern spent ca. \$1,000,000 annually in Europe alone.

The origin of funds to make up for the unavoidable Comintern deficit remains also largely undocumented. In December 1917, the Soviet of Peoples Commissars allegedly granted 2 million rubles for the needs of the international movement, to be placed at the disposition of foreign representatives and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Reportedly, there existed in 1922 an otherwise unidentified "Finance Committee", composed of Zinoviev, Solz (ICC), Grinko (State Bank), Dzerzhinsky (Chief of Cheka), and Ossip Piatnitzky, which was in charge of determining the financial policies of the Comintern, and which, on the basis of budget plans submitted semi-annually by the sections, allocated to the ECCI a fixed amount of money as well as sums for such special purposes as election campaigns. Another indirect source of Comintern funds was reported to have been exploited by Piatnitzky who requested that excess profits made by solvent sections out of their commercial ventures be transmitted to other, more needy sections. With the exception of the pre-Hitler German Communist Party, however, which drew a large income from the newspapers and publishing houses directed by Willy Muenzenberg, no section is known to have made more money than it needed for its own expenses.

2. Distribution methods of the Finance Department.

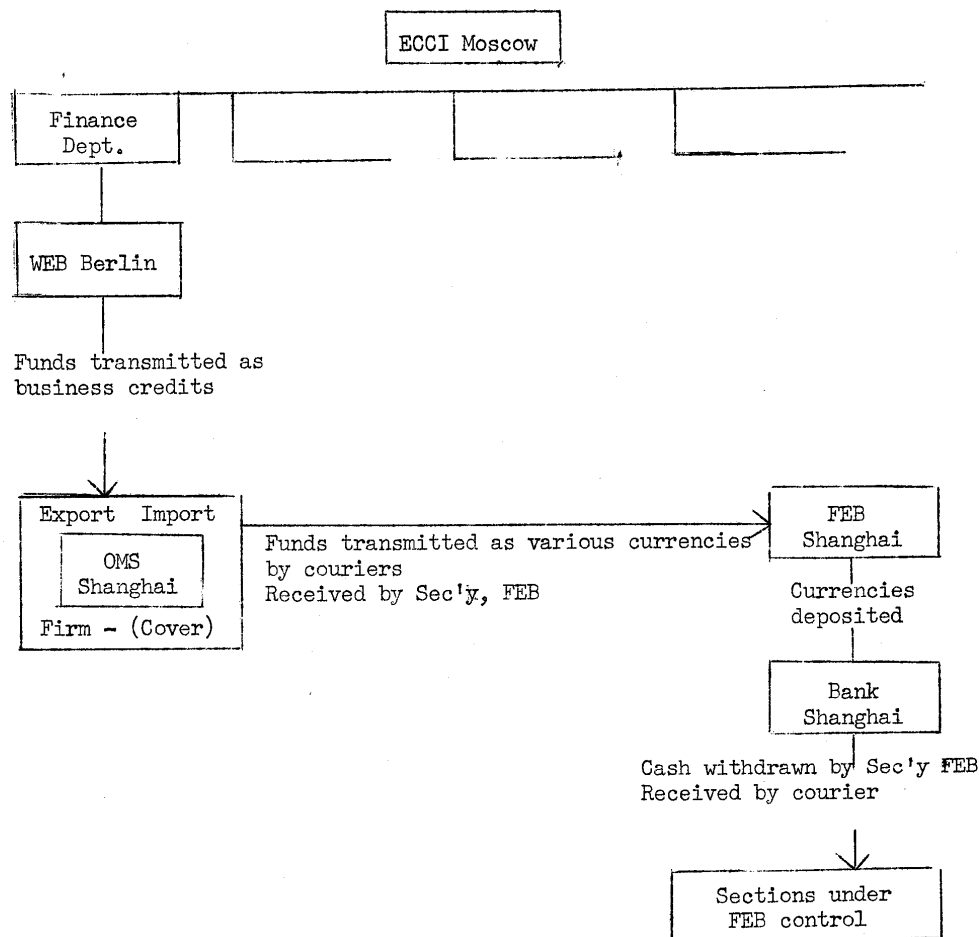
Before Piatnitzky's appointment, the distribution of funds, particularly to the sections, was unsystematic and haphazard. In 1919,

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for instance, the German Communist Hugo Eberlein was given some Czarist jewels as a contribution to the German party funds. In 1922, the Greek delegate to the Fourth World Congress, Savgoles, left Moscow with funds for the Greek Communist party but later claimed that he had been robbed by Fascists while travelling through Italy. In the early days of the Comintern Soviet diplomatic installations were used as channels for subsidies without regard to the political implications involved.

Piatnitsky's system was primarily designed to bypass diplomatic channels and to provide for better security. Known in its outlines only, it established the Permanent Bureaus (notably the Western European Bureau) as the main distributing agencies in the field, and utilized OMS channels for the forwarding of the funds which reached their final destination point in the form of cash currencies.




The general pattern of channels is best exemplified by the financial communication lines linking the Western European Bureau (WEB) with the Far Eastern Bureau (FEB) in 1930 and 1931. The WEB transmitted all funds destined for the sections under FEB control to the OMS station in Shanghai (which was set up under the cover of an import business firm) in the form of business credits. The OMS station arranged for clandestine, nocturnal meetings of its couriers with the secretary of the FEB who received cash in various currencies. The secretary of the FEB, in order to avoid suspicion, deposited the moneys received in several Shanghai banks on personal accounts or in safe deposits. Subsequently, he withdrew cash which he forwarded through couriers to the sections concerned. After the dispersal of the WEB (which operated in Berlin until 1933), the principle of indirect transmission of funds was still reported in effect. Subsidies for the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) were deposited in American dollars, Swedish kroner, and French francs in

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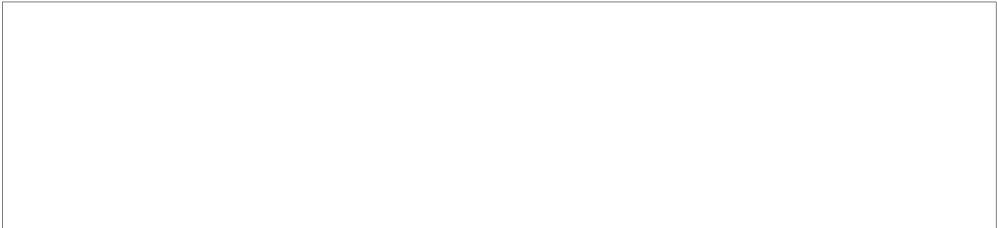
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Stockholm, Amsterdam and Paris where they were picked up by couriers of the British party. At the same time, it was reported that official Soviet installations were again used as financial channels. The Soviet Trade delegation in Copenhagen transmitted funds to Jensen, and the Soviet Legation in Prague provided funds for the illegal Czech party (see Permanent Bureau).



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It is unknown whether the practices described above were in general use wherever Soviet trade installations operated. It is entirely possible that Piatnitzky established a second channel of financial communications through official Soviet trade installations, and it is noteworthy in this connection, that an unconfirmed ECCI decision in 1931 obliged Soviet trade representatives abroad to transmit a percentage of foreign currencies received for goods imported from Russia to native Communist parties, with the adjustment to be made between the ECCI and the Commissariat of Foreign Trade in Moscow.



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3. Supervisory Methods.

In an effort to systematize Comintern spending Piatnitzky requested quarterly reports from the sections to account for the use of Comintern funds. From 1926-1936 the German Communist Hugo Eberlein served as general field supervisor and trouble-shooter for Piatnitzky. His job, involving matters of business management and financial transactions required extensive travel which took him, in 1930, to the OMS station in Shanghai. In 1931 Eberlein was concerned with the secret financing of the French Communist newspaper L'Humanite. An advertising agency was set up which accepted advertisements for the paper, but paid out to the paper's management amounts considerably larger than the receipts from advertisers. In 1933 Eberlein smuggled several hundred thousand dollars out of Hitler Germany. Shortly afterwards, he was instructed by Piatnitzky to supervise, organize and finance the printing of illegal propaganda material for dissemination in the Reich. In 1935, he was elected to the International Control Commission, and a year later was arrested in Strasbourg, France. Finally extradited to the Soviet Union, he disappeared in the purges of 1937, together with his bosses Piatnitzky and Abramov & Mirov.

* This bank has been reported recently as concerned with the financing of the French Communist Party.

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VI. ECCI FIELD AGENCIES AND REPRESENTATIVES.

The basic executive problem of the Comintern and its political steering and clandestine action agencies in Moscow was to translate directives and instructions into effective action in the areas of the sections. For this purpose it was clearly necessary, especially in the amateurish and disorganized '20's to establish directly in the field forward agencies or "relay stations" with sufficient power to impose the decisions of the ECCI on the national parties.

The personnel and activities of these field agencies were, in general, closely guarded secrets, not only because such Comintern installations represented an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the countries in which they operated, but also because they were in all cases closely concerned with illegal party work. The clandestine character of these field activities has naturally resulted in a great paucity of reliable information on this sphere of Comintern action.

ECCI direction in the field, on a country or regional basis, was primarily achieved through three types of field agencies: Permanent Bureaus, Comintern Representatives, and Comintern Instructors.

Permanent Bureaus, according to Comintern statutes, had the purpose of establishing close contact with the Sections in order to be "better able to guide their work." The sections were obliged to carry out the instructions of the bureaus, even pending an appeal to the ECCI or the Praesidium.

Comintern Representatives were "especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the ECCI." They received their instructions from the Praesidium and its Political Secretariat, to which they were responsible, and had the statutory right to participate in meetings of the central party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the sections to which they were sent. They were also entitled to oppose decisions which were not in line with their instructions. In 1924 an authentic document mentions two categories of such representatives:

long-term representatives to the sections, chosen from among ECCI members or other qualified personnel, endowed with the fullest powers;

travelling representatives whose task was to visit the various sections in order to supervise and control the execution of (specific) decisions of the Congress or the ECCI, operating under special instructions from the Praesidium and obliged to report to headquarters once a month.

Instructors were dispatched by the ECCI and its Departments to the sections to carry out specific supervisory and advisory functions.

A. The Permanent Bureaus.

Extremely limited information is available on the structure, activities and personnel of the Permanent Bureaus which, in general, represented the clandestine forward command stations of the ECCI in the field, and through which ran the "illegal" communication lines with the sections and their illegal apparatus. Although the Permanent Bureaus were primarily relay points for the Moscow headquarters, several instances have been observed in which the Western European Bureau issued over its own signature and quite overtly (see Inprecor of 1930 and 1932) instructions and directives to the parties in Spain, Holland and Japan. It therefore appears probable that at least the Western European Bureau acted not only on an executive but also on a political-policy level, on a par with Moscow headquarters.

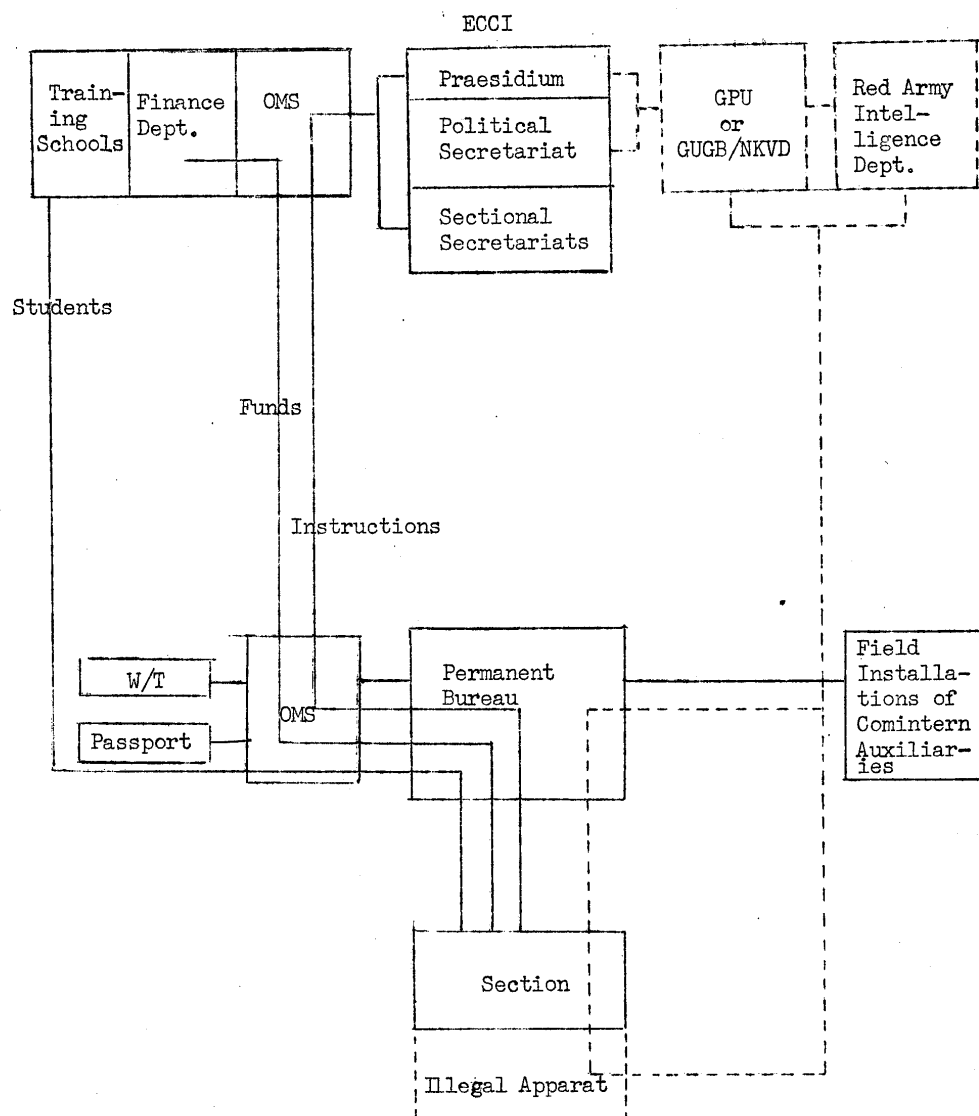
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Discounting this political-policy function, the Bureaus may be adequately characterized as regional ECCI field agencies in charge of

- a. the transmission of instructions from Comintern headquarters to the sections concerned, and the supervision of their execution;
- b. the distribution of clandestine subsidies and the recruitment of trainees for Comintern training centers;
- c. the direction of the revolutionary actions of the illegal national apparatus.

Five Permanent Bureaus are known to have existed: the Western European Bureau, the Far Eastern Bureau, the Central European Bureau, the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, and the Balkan Bureau.



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1. The Western European Bureau (WEB). Formally established by the Ninth Plenum of the ECCI in February 1928, but reportedly active since 1925, the Western European Bureau was to "maintain close contact with the sections in Western Europe". However, its jurisdiction appears to have extended far beyond the area officially assigned to it and several informed sources refer to the WEB as the most important advance base of the Comintern in general. Several concrete actions of the WEB support this characterization: in 1931 the Bureau transmitted funds and instructions to the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai; in 1932 it relayed instructions for the Scandinavian sections through the OMS station in Copenhagen; in July 1932 it was held responsible for ordering the ill-fated Communist uprisings in Altona, Germany; in 1933 the Bureau communicated with New York via the OMS installation in Goeteborg, Sweden, etc.

Prior to February 1933 the WEB was located in Berlin where it maintained several clandestine offices and employed a staff reportedly as large as the ECCI staff in Moscow (400-500). The headquarters were reported at 131-132 Wilhelmstrasse, camouflaged as the Fuchrer Verlag, and another office existed at 48 Wilhelmstrasse under the cover of the Neuer Deutscher Verlag. The Bureau's records and files, however, were kept in various apartments of trusted Communists.

Little is known about the personnel of the WEB prior to 1933. The ECCI Praesidium member Cromet, a French Communist and Municipal Councillor in Paris, was reportedly chief of the WEB in 1927. He was assisted by Togliatti who maintained close contact with the Swiss Communist Karl Hoffmaier and the Italian Ruggiero Grieco @ Garlandi. Cromet, believed by the French police to have been in charge of an illegal apparatus of the French Section concerned with the procurement of military information, disappeared before he could be arrested (1927).

From 1928 until March 1933 the WEB was apparently headed by Georgi Dimitrov whose personal Secretary was one Magnus, although some sources report Dimitrov merely as Comintern representative to Germany.

After the Reichstag fire and Dimitrov's arrest in 1933, the WEB was broken up and established its offices in several European capitals.

In Copenhagen, temporary headquarters were located at 42 Vimmelskaflet under cover of a firm of lawyers headed by one Otto Melchior (March 1933). WEB chief at that time was a Communist of Czech nationality, one Walter Ulrich @ Leo Ulbricht @ Urvich @ Sorenson. Funds for the WEB were transmitted through the Soviet Trade Mission in Copenhagen to the treasurer of the Bureau, Richard Jensen. Clandestine liaison with the capitals of Western Europe was maintained through one Dietlovson, boatswain aboard the Danish steamer P. A. Bernstorff which plied between Esbjerg, Antwerp and Dunkerque. From Antwerp illegal couriers on the Ilsonstein of the Bernstein Line maintained liaison with New York contact with which was also maintained through couriers on the Swedish boats Gripsholm and Kungsholm.

The illegal activities of the WEB at this period can be illustrated by the wrecking of the Socialist-controlled Seamen's Union of Sweden in 1933, an operation which was executed by Krobs @ Valtin, upon WEB orders and with the help of the illegal apparatus of the Swedish section. Krobs accomplished his mission by turning an economic strike into violent mass conflict. Again under WEB orders, Krobs directed Communist units in the Narvik area (Norway) to infiltrate dockers' and railroad workers' organizations in order to lay the groundwork for sabotage action in the event of a war against the Soviet Union. In addition, the WEB prepared and disseminated instructions for maritime sabotage techniques in 1933.

In 1937 the WEB operated nine clandestine offices in Copenhagen, with headquarters situated on the third floor of the Vestport, the largest office building in the city, camouflaged as a firm of architects and engineers. A. Solve & Co., where a score of typists, translators and

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guards, allegedly armed with fountainpens filled with tear gas, were employed. Its key personnel in 1937 were reported as follows:

Chief of the Political Department: O. V. Kuusinen

Chief of the Organization Department: Ernst Wollweber, former Orgleiter of the German Communist Party.

Chief of the Illegal Apparatus: Michael Avatin @ Leo Lambert charged with counter-espionage and the liquidation of anti-Soviet elements:

Chief Treasurer: Richard Jensen (see also under OMS)

Chief of a North American Bureau, apparently part of the WEB: Richard Rast, an alias for a Soviet national posing as a New Zealander.

Kuusinen purportedly was not a permanent resident in Copenhagen, but came to WEB headquarters on occasional clandestine visits whenever important business was to be transacted. On such occasions Kuusinen was reported to have lived at 173 Ordstrupvej in the apartment of one Petra Petersen, a female operator in the central telegraph agency in Copenhagen.

No reports are available on the activities of the Copenhagen office after 1937. Richard Jensen and several of his assistants were arrested in 1941 (see above, OMS), and Wollweber was arrested in Sweden for his complicity in preparing sabotage actions directed at Axis shipping. It appears probable, however, that WEB functions were later transferred to branch offices in France and Sweden.

An office in Paris had been established at 288 Rue Lafayette in June 1933 on the occasion of the Comintern-inspired "World Congress against Fascism." The connections of this office with the illegal apparatus of the French Communist party are thrown into relief by the sabotage operation known as "bataille des bateliers" which was executed by the Confederation General des Travailleurs Unitaires (CGTU) and aimed at disrupting the water communications linking Paris with Lorraine and the Channel coast. The operation, which took place in mid-August 1933, was initiated by the WEB as a rehearsal for future sabotage actions.

WEB operations in France after 1933, however, are difficult to appraise. Several agencies were reported as performing WEB functions, but their exact interrelations and relations with the WEB in Copenhagen or with Moscow are unknown.

In 1937 the so-called "Muenzenberg Committee" was reported in control of the legal organization and illegal apparatus of the French Communist Party. The Committee, which took its name from Willy Muenzenberg, the well-known German Communist and "omnipotence grise" of many Comintern auxiliaries, consisted of a policy-making section under Muenzenberg's personal control, an executive section under Dr. Benedict Freistadt @ Bruno Frei @ Bruno Freistadt, and a section under Hans Stuckenberg for the infiltration of anti-Fascist groups.

Also reported in 1937 were a WEB branch in Marseilles for work in Italy headed by Togliatti; a sub-section for Portugal; a bureau at Marseilles, 10 Rue Faucaud, directing Communist activities in North Africa and in the Near East; and a special committee under Gregori Smolianski, a Polish Jew connected with the Profintern since 1924, for the penetration of the French C.G.T. (Confederation General du Travail).

In 1938 the Muenzenberg Committee disintegrated because of Muenzenberg's expulsion from the Comintern, and was replaced by an "Action Committee", headed by one Subotin, reportedly a GUGB/NKVD agent and assistant to its chief, and an ECCI member, Yozhov. According to other reports, Subotin was also an outstanding Profintern executive, and

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it is noteworthy in this connection that an "Action Committee" was formed in 1924 as a link between the Comintern and the Profintern. It is possible that Subotin's Action Committee of 1938, which included G. Smolianski (another Profintern man), was controlled by the Profintern rather than the Comintern. Other members of the Committee were the French Communists Frachon and Gitton, Dr. Benedict Freistadt, and, allegedly, a Hungarian Communist Dr. Viktor Farkas.

Muenzenberg himself was found hanged in a forest between Valence and Grenoble in June 1940, probably a suicide. The Comintern emissary who had come to France in 1937 with the mission of ousting Muenzenberg, the Spanish Communist Margarit Wolken, was, in her turn, ousted from the Spanish Communist Party in 1941, although during her past six years' residence in Mexico she appears to have continued an active Communist career.

In Sweden the WEB appears to have maintained another of its many branch offices during the period of its post-Hitler diaspora. A German ~~document~~ Sicherheitsdienst of June 1941 states that the Bureau was at that time represented in Stockholm by the Swedish Communist Rylsdag and ECCI member, Sven Linderoth. Linderoth's organization was principally concerned with infiltrating illegal agents and couriers into Germany in order to procure intelligence on the production of the most recent types of weapons, to carry out industrial sabotage, and to produce subversive leaflets. Operations had begun in 1939, and the personnel-selected from among German Communists-received special training in Sicherheitsdienst methods from a GUGB/NKVD agent, Dmitr Fedoseyevich Krylov. German members of the network, which was finally liquidated in May 1941, were Arthur Emmerlich; Willy Gall; Rudolf Hallmeyer; and Heinrich Schmeer.

In Czechoslovakia, between 1939 and 1941, WEB functions were apparently exercised by the Soviet Consulate in Prague which, according to the Sicherheitsdienst source, was in charge of the supervision and control of the illegal Czechoslovakian party in the Protectorate. Communist functionaries, trained at the Lenin School, were infiltrated into the area immediately after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Germans, and maintained contact with the Consulate through one Kurt Boer, a TASS correspondent attached to the Consulate, who transmitted to them propaganda material as well as considerable sums of money. In addition, the illegal Czech apparatus maintained direct wireless contact with Moscow (see above under OMS).

2. The Central European Bureau. A series of questionable reports refers to a Central European Bureau with jurisdiction over Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, with a subsection responsible for North America, Canada, Australia and South Africa. There is, however, no evidence available to confirm the existence of a CEB.

3. The Far Eastern Bureau. In 1931 the FEB was located in Shanghai and was staffed by eight or nine Europeans and a small number of Orientals. On 15 June 1931 its archives were seized by the Shanghai police, and it was discovered that the Bureau served as the regional Comintern organ for China, Indo-China, Malaya, Japan, Formosa, Korea and the Philippines. Communications with the Communist organizations in those areas were maintained by letters, code telegrams, liaison agents, and couriers. Known functions of the Bureau included:

- a. The payment of cash subsidies allotted by the Comintern to the sections under its control;
- b. The harmonizing of party activities with Comintern instructions;
- c. The selection, preparation and dispatch to Moscow of students to be trained in the Lenin School, Military School, and Communist University of the Peoples of the East.

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Instructions and cash subsidies for distribution by the FEB were transmitted from the WEB in Berlin to Shanghai through OMS channels. The local OMS station in Shanghai operated under cover of an import business, and its agents usually delivered the cash received at clandestine rendezvous at night. For security reasons, the FEB kept its funds--for the disposition of which it was responsible to Berlin--in no less than seven Chinese banks. In the ten months from August 1930 to the end of May 1931, the Bureau disbursed a total of about \$420,000 in Reichmarks, gold dollars, Mexican dollars, and yen. Most of its money, however, went to the Chinese party to which the FEB transmitted \$460,000 a year as against \$50,000 in the other areas under its jurisdiction. The yearly total of funds handled by the FEB amounted to \$580,000--\$725,000 including cost of maintenance, communications and operations.

After 1931 the Bureau was reported in Vladivostok from where it moved to Chita (Chita Oblast, USSR). No subsequent information is currently available.

The personnel of the FEB remains largely unidentified. In the early twenties the Bureau was allegedly headed by one Yulin who was succeeded by Voitinski. From 1927-1929, one Charles Johnston, a Latvian connected with the commercial staff of the Russian Embassy in Tokio, was reported secretary of the Bureau. In 1931 the secretary of the FEB, Paul Ruegg @ Hilaire Noulens, and his wife, Gertrud, were arrested by the Shanghai police. Their fate is unknown.

4. The Latin American and Caribbean Bureau. The Latin American and Caribbean Bureau was reportedly located in Montevideo, Uruguay, with the Venezuelan Communist, Gustavo Machado (Morales), reported as an active member. No further information is currently available.

5. The Balkan Bureau. The Balkan Bureau--whose jurisdiction allegedly extended over Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece as well as over the Baltic countries, the Middle East and North Africa--was initially located in Berlin where it operated under cover of the International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism. Subsequently it moved to Vienna, the seat of the Balkan Communist Federation, and was suppressed by the police in 1933.

In 1938 a Comintern office, possibly a revival of the Balkan Bureau, was reported in Odessa, with responsibility for Greek affairs. Liaison with Greece was maintained via Istanbul and through the communication office of the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers at Piraeus, Greece.

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B. Comintern Representatives and Instructors

During the greater part of its existence the ECCI regularly dispatched to the sections its accredited representatives whose function it was to furnish control and to correlate policy, procedures, and action. These Comintern representatives, or "CI reps", reported regularly to the ECCI in Moscow through channels varying with the circumstances and the countries of their assignment. Maintaining close but limited relationships with controlling officials of the various communist parties, they occupied positions of great power and prestige.

As a general rule, although not invariably, the Comintern representatives to a particular country were chosen from personnel not native to the area of their assignment. Some sources have reported that Germans trained in the cadres of the German Communist Party (CPG) were preferred for Comintern assignment in Europe and the Far East. On the basis of such evidence as is available, it appears that the CPG, particularly during the period from 1919 until the early 1930's, contributed more Comintern representatives than any other communist party, for the obvious reason that during this period the CPG constituted the strongest and ablest of all of the communist parties outside of the USSR.

The exact functions and the extent of control exercised by various CI reps varied with their experience, prestige, and also with the local conditions associated with their post of assignment, i.e., the relative strength and "reliability" of the leadership of the local party. While it is generally accepted that Comintern representatives were dispatched by the Political Secretariat of the ECCI through OMS, it is interesting to observe that their activities in many instances have been closely allied to, and occasionally integrated with, the illegal apparatus of the sections. Since their functions in many countries were conspiratorial in nature, as a general rule not only the activities and movements but the true identities of Comintern representatives were insofar as possible completely concealed, both from the public and from the rank and file of party membership, and frequently even from high functionaries of the local party. The travel of such Comintern representatives was in most instances facilitated by the use of false passports and by the assumption of completely false identities. In many countries, more particularly in Comintern operations in the U.S., Comintern representatives were known only by a single cover such as "Edwards", "Peters", "Johnson". Usually the cover name employed bore no relationship whatever to the national origin and background of the CI rep using it.

Closely related to the dispatch of Comintern representatives to the various communist parties was the assignment to a Section, under special circumstances or for particular missions, of Comintern instructors. These instructors usually were specialists in a given field, and graduates of Comintern schools, and in many instances had been given operational intelligence and military training as well. Frequently, their function included the specialized implementation of Comintern instructions or objectives in the field of propaganda, industrial organization, financial and other support to underground communist parties, etc. Instructors dispatched with specific operational intelligence missions were, of course, controlled by the Comintern. Considerable confusion, however, results in any effort to evaluate exactly the activities of a given Comintern representative, inasmuch as the activities of many of these representatives have been extremely varied both in function and direction. Comintern representatives have frequently been used by the operational Soviet Intelligence Services either for service functions or for specific intelligence missions--many, as has been noted above, were given intensive training by the operational Soviet Intelligence Services. It is extremely difficult to determine whether or not a given individual at a given time and place actually was serving technically as a Comintern representative or as an agent of another Soviet service. The problem is further complicated by the fact that, in a number of cases, an important GUGB/NKVD or Red Army Intelligence agent has been identified as an individual who had previously received his initial training and first missions of importance through the Comintern.

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Available information is neither sufficiently detailed nor sufficiently confirmed to permit the compilation of a substantial list of Comintern representatives and instructors, together with their missions and the countries of their assignment. However, available information does reflect the fact that practically all communist parties of any importance during the period from 1919 until at least the outbreak of World War II consistently received, deferred to, and followed the instructions of a succession of Comintern representatives dispatched directly to them by the ECCI.

Typical of the development and operations of these Comintern representatives is the career of Gerhart Eisler, which for illustrative purposes will be summarized in some detail. Gerhart Eisler first began to assume importance in the international Communist movement in Germany in the early 1920's when he was active as a responsible functionary of the CPG in Leipzig and Berlin. He became involved in the rampant factionalism in the German party during this period and is believed to have been used by the Comintern in the political liquidation of the anti-Thaellmann faction. Before 1930 Eisler was sent to Moscow by the CPG to attend the Lenin School, the Comintern school for developing professional revolutionaries.

After his graduation from the Lenin School, Eisler's first Comintern assignment was to China where he served as Comintern representative during 1930-1. His precise mission during this period has never been clearly ascertained, but available information indicates that he was dispatched to China by the ECCI as a political representative and "expert". Illness forced his return to Moscow, and for a period of time thereafter he served as an instructor at the Lenin School.

In 1933 Eisler travelled from Moscow to Germany and France, where he embarked for the United States, travelling under a false identity and a fraudulent passport, the origin of which it has never been possible to trace. At this time Eisler had been designated by the ECCI as the Comintern representative to the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), an assignment he fulfilled from 1933 until approximately 1937. During his term as Comintern representative to the CPUSA, Eisler was known only as "Edwards"---his true identity was unknown to all except a handful of high party functionaries. His prestige and authority during this period are known to have been so great that his instructions, orders, and suggestions were accepted without question. According to a number of sources, the highest officials in the CPUSA, deferred to "Edwards" and to other CI reps with complete subservience. During the period of Eisler's service as "Edwards", his possible implication in operational intelligence work on behalf of the illegal apparatus was never clearly established, although available information strongly indicates at least some intelligence implication on his part. In 1935, and again in 1936, Eisler travelled from New York to Europe, using a fraudulent American passport procured in the name of a minor member of the CPUSA. On both of these occasions, Eisler is believed to have visited Moscow. In addition to the political direction of the party, it is known that Eisler in his role as "Edwards" spent a major portion of his time mobilizing all possible financial and other support throughout the communist movement in the United States for the support of the German Communist Party in exile. Of those individuals in the United States with whom Eisler was most closely associated during this period, almost all are known at one time or another to have served on operational intelligence missions, either under the direction of the Comintern, GUGB/INKVD (now the MGB), or Red Army Intelligence.

The exact date of Eisler's cessation of activity as CI rep to the CPUSA, is difficult to determine. It is known, however, that in early 1937 he departed from the United States for Paris and for a considerable period of time was active both in Paris and Spain as a Comintern emissary, handling political matters in connection with the Spanish Civil War and particularly with the operations of the International Brigades. Upon the outbreak of World War II Eisler was interned in France, and in 1941, through Communist and communist-controlled facilities in Mexico, he received permission to travel to Mexico City. He was given a U.S. transit visa for the purpose and again entered the United States in 1941 enroute to

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Mexico City where his destination was given as the residence of an individual long active in Comintern circles, who in the past had served in many countries as a Comintern representative. Eisler was prevented from proceeding to Mexico because of the administrative ruling issued in the summer of 1941, prohibiting travel of German nationals to Latin America from the United States and consequently he was forced to remain in New York City. Almost immediately, he became active in the determination of communist party policy in New York and in the writing of policy-guidance propaganda articles for the party press under the name Hans Berger. It appears highly doubtful that, after his arrival in the U.S. in 1941, Eisler was actually serving technically as a CI rep, but his activity and contacts were carefully concealed and his opinions and suggestions were still treated by Party leaders with considerable deference. It may also be noted that Eisler, from 1941 to the present, has been in frequent contact on a clandestine or at least a "careful" basis with a number of individuals definitely implicated in Soviet intelligence activities.

An interesting example of the dispatch of a CI representative to facilitate a specific operation of a constituent section is provided by the case of Arthur Ewert @ Harry Berger. Ewert had for many years, beginning in the 1920's, been extremely active in the illegal apparatus of the CPG, in the illegal Comintern seaman-courier net centered in the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, and in the training end of the Comintern in Moscow. His last known assignment on behalf of the ECCI involved his dispatch to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1934, under a carefully manufactured identity, for the purpose of guiding and integrating the revolutionary, military organization of the Communist Party of Brazil, an operation which culminated in 1935 in the abortive communist military revolt against the Brazilian Government under the leadership of Luis Carlos Prestes. Ewert's position in connection with this revolt was with little question one of controlling importance as the direct representative of the Comintern, and it is of interest to note that he maintained close connections with Yuzhamtorg, the South American trading corporation of the Soviet government.

Such other Comintern personnel as may tentatively be classified representatives or instructors are included in the following list:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Assignment</u>
Bittelmann, Alex.	USA	Comintern rep. to India, 1930.
Borodin, Michael	USSR	Comintern rep. to China, 1923-27. Advisor to Chiang Kai-shek.
Broz, Josip @ Tito	Yugoslavia	Comintern rep. for South Eastern Europe, appointed in 1935.
Florin, Wilhelm	Germany	Comintern rep. Belgium 1936, organized Belgian Communist Party.
Grieco, Ruggiero @ Garlandi	Italy	Comintern rep. France, Belgium, 1927.
Johnstone, Jack	USA	Comintern rep. India, 1928.
Lominadze, Besso	USSR	Comintern rep. in Canton, China, 1927. With Heinz Heumann organized Canton uprising.

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Assignment</u>
Longo, Luigi	Italy	Comintern rep. Spain 1936, as Chief Political Commissar of International Brigades.
Machado-Morales, Gustavo	Venezuela	Comintern rep. Venezuela 1930, Colombia, 1943(?).
Maring	Java	Comintern rep. China, 1922-3. Laid foundation for policy of Communist- Kuomintang cooperation.
Neumann, Heinz	Germany	Comintern rep. China in 1927. Organized Canton uprising.
Marcus @ M. Jenks		Instructor in USA, 1928; organizational problems.
Mikhailov, B. @ George Williams	USSR	Comintern rep. to USA in 1929-30.
Pogany, Josef @ John Pepper	Hungary	Comintern rep. in USA 1922-29.
Sorge @ Sonter	Germany	1924-29 active in Scandi- navia as Comintern organ- izer; sent to Shanghai in 1933, where he was active in intelligence work until 1941, when arrested by Japanese.

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VII. NOTES ON TRAINING SCHOOLS

Since the "formation and training of cadres as well as genuinely Bolshevik leaders" was an ECCI function--officially acknowledged only in 1935, but exercised before that date--a review of the principal training schools for foreign Communists in the USSR forms an essential part of an organizational analysis, although no specific ECCI training department has been identified.

A. The Communist University* (possibly identical with the Marx-Lenin Institute. In the fall of 1926 Valtin @ Krebs, then residing in Antwerp, received orders from his superior, the German Albert Walter, an active member of the maritime section of the German party and of the Profintern, to proceed to the Communist University in Leningrad. Valtin received his identification papers, money and travel instructions from one Anton in Antwerp, described as the GPU chief in Flanders (Belgium), who possibly exercised OMS functions. Valtin was instructed to report to one Ryatt (at 15 Prospekt Ogorodnikova, Leningrad), allegedly the chief of the Central Passport Office of the OMS. The address given to Valtin was identical with that of the Interclub, an establishment of the Profintern and the Soviet Maritime Unions. Valtin traveled "illegally" from Antwerp to Eschen at the Belgian frontier which he crossed under the guidance of a special border-crossing courier (of OMS?). Entering Holland via Rozendaal, he boarded the German boat Russ in Rotterdam which was carrying iron ore to Leningrad. Before entering the school, the GPU checked Valtin's identification papers, took his picture for his student's pass, and assigned him a cover name. The GPU also requested him not to send letters to relatives and friends abroad by mail, but to turn them over to the secretary of the Interclub for forwarding.

In 1925/26 the Communist University was located in the Uritsky Palace in Leningrad, and was frequented by ca. 6,000 students, the majority of whom were Russians being trained for political and administrative work in the party, the Red Army, the GPU, etc. Foreign students were assigned to the International Division.

Courses at the International Division--which were located on the second floor of a building adjoining the Uritsky Palace--dealt almost exclusively with practical aspects of class warfare. In a special "Military Department" Red Army officers lectured on street-fighting and the science of civil war. Instruction in photography, fingerprinting and police work was given by GPU officials. Lectures started at nine o'clock in the morning; from one to two o'clock, junior Red Army officers conducted gymnastic exercises, exercises in self-control, and target practice with small arms. The afternoons were usually devoted to the writing of essays and leaflets. Teachers and lecturers at the International Division were mostly non-Russians, and included such Comintern functionaries as Kuusinen, Piatnitzky, and the German Arthur Ewert.

Living conditions were primitive, discipline semi-military, and morale reportedly high. The group of fifty-three foreign students to which Valtin belonged lived in segregated quarters--all fifty-three in eight small rooms. Meals, clothing, entertainment, and excursions were free. In addition, each student received fifty rubles every two weeks for incidental expenses.

Supervision of the students was strict, and exercised by a "control bureau" of the Comintern of which Kuusinen was the head, assisted by the German Communists Kuehne, Schneller, and Heinz Neumann. The control bureau planned the curriculum of the students, and also paid their fortnightly allowances.

* Details on the Communist University are available only from the Valtin @ Krebs account (Out of the Night).

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Security among the students was maintained by undercover GPU agents who supervised the reading, the conversations, and the personal associations of the students, steered them away from all contacts with Russian workers and students, and occasionally searched their quarters.

No exact information is available as to how assignments were handled for the University's graduates. Valtin himself asked to be sent to the field before he had finished school, and was informed by Ryatt, the same man to whom he had reported upon arrival in Leningrad, that he would serve as a courier to the Orient. It was after this courier mission that Valtin appeared on the West Coast where he was later arrested.

B. The Communist University for National Minorities, located in Leningrad, purportedly also trained foreign Communists. No further information is currently available.

C. The Lenin University (probably identical with the Lenin School--see below) was located in Moscow. A former American communist testified before the Committee of Un-American Activities that he had been a student from September 1931 to December 1932; that his travelling expenses from Detroit were paid by the Central Committee of the American Communist Party; that his living expenses in Moscow were defrayed by the Comintern; that there were approximately thirty American students at the University at the time. Among the subjects he studied were Communist strategy, strike strategy, street-fighting, military science, codes, civil warfare, organization, tactics and methods of the Red Army, sabotage, and what the witness called "secret service".

D. The Lenin School (probably identical with the Lenin University, and also located in Moscow) appears to have provided advanced seminar work for Communists slated to occupy important positions within their national sections. Students selected for attendance were, as a rule, outstanding party workers who had already acquired some knowledge of Marxist theory as well as practical party experience. Since the majority of them were to become public figures in their parties, they travelled and attended the school under their own names. Students from underground parties alone used an alias.

The curriculum of the Lenin School was primarily designed to provide political education, including such courses as "The Economic Theories of Marxism and Leninism", "History of the International Worker's Movement", "History of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia" and of the "International Labor Unions", "Party Structure", and "Historical and Dialectical Materialism". There were also courses in general history, geography and mathematics, and lectures on revolutionary and civil war techniques. In addition, the students were given basic military training and instructions in street-fighting in order to familiarize them with the basic problems of revolutionary action. These courses lasted from about 3-6 months.

According to several informed sources, this basic course represented only the first phase of Lenin School training, and suitable graduates were drafted for an intensive three months' military course run by the Red Army in conjunction with its Intelligence (Fourth) Department, and designed to train the military staffs of the future revolutions. Graduates of this military course could, in their turn, be drafted by the Fourth Department for a six months' sabotage and intelligence course. Emil Kleber (later one of the leaders of the International Brigades in Spain) was the outstanding Fourth Department instructor in this course. A Finnish Communist, most probably identical with Tuuri Lehti @ Alfred Lander @ Lehon, first husband of Herta Kuusinen, was reportedly a member of the Fourth Department teaching in the military course, as well as head of the M-School (see below) which trained personnel for the illegal apparatus of the section.

E. M (Military-Political) School. Operating since 1923-4, this school was located in 1928 on the estate of a former Russian aristocrat near Moscow. Its head was a Finnish Communist with the party name of

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Alfred who was most probably identical with one Tuuri Lehti @ Alfred Langer @ Lehen, an expert on revolutionary warfare reported as a member of the Fourth Department of the Red Army.

The M School trained foreign Communists to be used by the illegal apparatus* of the sections, and gave two six-months courses a year.

F. Miscellaneous. References have been made to a University of the Peoples of the East in Moscow, and a Pan-Pacific University in Vladivostok, both for students from the Far East; and a University of the Peoples of the West in Moscow, with a special department for American Communists.

* Connections between the Comintern and the illegal apparatus of the national parties, will be analysed in a separate paper.

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VIII. COMINTERN AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS

A. General Purpose and Structure.

The leaders of the Comintern early realized the necessity of extending their influence beyond the confines of the Communist movement itself in order to gain the support of members of the left who were in sympathy with "radical" ideas but unwilling to identify themselves with the Communist Party.

O. V. Kuusinen raised the question at the sixth enlarged plenary session of the ECCI (1926), stating "We are first of all confronted with the task of building up not only Communist organizations, but also other organizations, sympathizing mass organizations with special aims....we must, so to speak, create a whole solar system of organizations around the Communist Party, minor committees which would be under the actual influence of our party, and not under its mechanical leadership....."

At the Eighth plenary session of the ECCI (1927), the importance of such mass organizations was again stressed: "The Communist parties of all countries must devote particular attention to the work of a non-partisan character which will group in their ranks persons sympathizing with the liberation of the proletariat and of the toilers in the colonies, sincerely hating the capitalist regime."

Willy Muenzenberg, a guiding spirit in the creation of such organizations, described their aims at the Sixth World Congress (1928):....."to awaken an interest in the economic or cultural struggle of the proletariat among millions of indifferent workmen.....; to serve as a bridge between us and the workmen.....; to expand the sphere of communist influence.....; to embrace organizationally strata sympathizing with the USSR and with Communism.....; to oppose attacks of bourgeois and social-democratic parties.....; to serve as a source for increasing the ranks of our parties with new members and with cadres of trained active workers.....".

The communist fractions in such international mass organizations were under the control of the Praesidium of the ECCI and its Political Secretariat. Depending on the power and influence of the Communist leadership, these auxiliaries could accordingly be steered according to Comintern policies.

The auxiliaries varied in character: some were easily identifiable with the Comintern (i.e., the Young Communist International); others were so organized as to conceal their true affiliation (the so-called "Innocent's Club") in order to assist in the promotion of a "United front".

Characteristic of many of these international auxiliaries was the fact that they were frequently interrelated as well as directly linked with the ECCI through series of interlocking directorates. For example, Klara Zetkin, was a member of the ECCI, Chairman of the International Women's Secretariat, Chairman of International Red Aid, and a member of the World Committee against War. Willy Muenzenberg was Chairman of the Worker's International Relief, Secretary of the League against Imperialism, and a member of the World Committee against War. Ossip Piatnitzky was an ECCI member and Comintern representative on the Profintern.

The auxiliary organizations of the Comintern represented not only vehicles for ECCI-directed political action, but also an additional operational web of clandestine channels for international conspiratorial communications. From a number of cases it is clear that field installations of the auxiliaries cooperated closely with the Permanent Bureaus of the Comintern.

B. Main Comintern Auxiliaries.

The following list of selected auxiliaries does not attempt to be exhaustive and supplies only a few facts on each organization listed simply to illustrate the vast web of international headquarters and national affiliates which, in varying degree, stood at the disposition of the ECCI in executing its political program.

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1. The Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern).

Created in 1919 at the initiative of the ECCI, and with headquarters in Moscow, the Profintern was designed as a world-wide federation of labor unions in order to counteract the influence of the International Federation of Labor Unions of the Second (Socialist) International. At the height of its strength, in the early '30's, the Profintern claimed a membership of nineteen million in forty-nine countries. The great majority of affiliated unions, however, were Soviet labor unions which, through the medium of the Profintern, extended their influence into the industrial field abroad.

Structurally, the Profintern consisted of a headquarters apparatus closely patterned after the model of the Comintern and controlled by an ECCI fraction, and of the affiliated "sections" which in most countries outside of Soviet Russia took the organizational form of "Red Trade Union Oppositions". Profintern headquarters were represented in the field by clandestine Bureaus or Secretariats which resembled the Permanent Bureaus of the Comintern, and actually worked in close cooperation with the latter. In addition, the Profintern organized in the field so-called "International Propaganda Committees" (also referred to as "International Committees") charged with work among specific trades and industries, such as the committees for miners and metal workers, railroad workers, textile workers, chemical workers, etc.

In addition, the Profintern sponsored the creation of parallel labor union federations, i.e., the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Trade Unions, created in 1927 in Hankow, and the Latin American Confederation of Labor Unions, organized in 1929 in Montevideo, Uruguay.

The operations of the Profintern's field installations--which were principally concentrated in Germany--were seriously handicapped by the events following Hitler's seizure of power, and little is known at present about the activities of the Profintern after 1935. From the absence of references in the Comintern press after the Seventh World Congress (1935), it may be assumed that the concept underlying the Red International of Labor Unions was gradually discarded along with its organizational form. Some of the more important leading figures in the Profintern were: Lozovski, Solomon~~off~~ (USSR), Secretary General of the RILU from its inception, and member of the ECCI and the Praesidium of the Comintern; Merker, Paul, (Germany); Monmousseau, Gaston Rene Leon (France); Foster, William Z. (USA); Sobottka, Gustav (Czechoslovakia), Chief of the International Committee for Miners and Metal Workers.

2. International of Seamen and Harbor Workers (ISH).

Created in Hamburg, Germany, in 1931, the ISH, a direct outgrowth of the Maritime Sections of the Profintern, was designed to organize, on a union basis, the Communist element in the merchant marines and dock areas of the world. Mainly under the control of German communists (its first leader was Albert Walter who was arrested by the Gestapo in 1933 and reportedly "turned"), the ISH became the nerve center of the clandestine communications of the Comintern, serving as a useful instrument for OMS in the field as well as an auxiliary for the Soviet intelligence services.

In organizational terms, ISH headquarters directed regional bureaus which were in charge of activities in a group of countries. Rotterdam, for instance, was reportedly the seat of a bureau for Western Europe, and a Pan-Pacific Bureau (with sub-stations in Vladivostok and San Francisco) was responsible for ISH activities in America and the Far East. In addition, the ISH organized so-called "Inter Clubs" (International Seamen's Clubs) in many ports which served as propaganda and rallying centers as well as communication channels.

The conspiratorial-revolutionary potential of the ISH is most clearly revealed by its use as a maritime sabotage organization under the leadership of Ernst Wollweber, former German Reichstag deputy and chief of the Organization Department of the German Communist Party, who after 1933 took over the direction of the ISH center in Copenhagen and

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organized sabotage operations against Axis vessels in Scandinavian waters. Wollweber was arrested by the Swedish police in 1941 and sentenced to three years of hard labor, and after his release, on 15 November 1944, he proceeded to the Soviet Union.

3. Young Communist International. The Young Communist International, which was created in 1919 in Berlin and whose headquarters were subsequently transferred to Moscow, represented an international federation of Communist youth organizations in the USSR and abroad, and was given the status of a section of the Comintern. Its executive committee interlocked with the ECCI, i.e., the secretary general of the YCI, V. Chumodanov, was elected a member of the ECCI in 1935, and had previously held offices in the Praesidium of the Comintern.

The headquarters organization of the YCI paralleled the political steering complex of the Comintern. The constituent units of the YCI were formed by Young Communist Leagues or Unions in countries outside of Soviet Russia, and by the All-Union Lenin Communist League of Youth (Komsomol) in the USSR.

In 1935, official Comintern statistics placed the strength of YCI membership at 3,759,000 in the USSR and at 221,000 in foreign countries.

In functional terms, the YCI which, on the national level was controlled by the directing agencies of the sections, served to replenish the cadres of the national parties from the younger generation and formed a useful instrument in the struggle for control of non-Communist youth.

4. Educational Worker's International (EWI). The EWI aimed at bringing members of the teaching profession and teachers unions under Communist control. It was not immediately recognizable as a Comintern auxiliary since it accepted both organizations affiliated with the Comintern and unions belonging to the Second International. However, its headquarters organization in Paris (1935) was controlled by the Communist Leon Vernochet, Secretary General of the EWI. The most significant among the unions affiliated with the EWI was the All-Russian Federation of Educational Workers. By the end of the '20's, the EWI had established sections in many countries of Europe and North America. In China, EWI aims were apparently pursued by the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Trade Unions under Earl Browder and Appleton who had been members of the EWI. In Latin America, Vernochet organized groups of "Friends of the EWI" (1928). Apparently connected with the EWI was the International Pedagogical Institute, founded in Moscow in 1932, reportedly designed as a training center for EWI leaders.

5. Red Peasants' International (Krestintern). The Krestintern was founded in 1923 in Moscow, and was directed by its Secretary General, I. A. Teodorovich. Charged with the task of breaking the resistance of the international peasantry against communist ideology, the Krestintern apparently had little success. In 1926, an International Agrarian Institute was established in Moscow in conjunction with the Krestintern.

6. Red Sports International (Sportintern). Created at an international congress in 1922 in Moscow "for the purpose of uniting the world proletarian sports movement and directing it along the path of the revolutionary class struggle", the Sportintern was directed by an Executive Committee in Moscow which operated through a Bureau, composed of representatives from the national sections and from the Comintern, Profintern, Young Communist International and the International Women's Secretariat of the ECCI. Under the main bureau operated regional bureaus, i.e., a bureau in Berlin with jurisdiction over Sportintern affairs in Germany, England, France, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Scandinavia, Austria and Luxemburg; and a bureau in Prague for Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, the Balkan countries, and North America. The two latter bureaus were probably wiped out after 1933.

The national sections (sport federations) of the Sportintern were organized as auxiliaries of the sections and were controlled by the respective parties and sections of the YCI.

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The function of the Sportintern was not only propagandistic, but was conceived as a potential action component of class struggle which necessitated the training of militant and military leaders. The Central Institute for Physical Culture in Moscow assisted in the training of members of the national sections of the Sportintern.

7. International Union of Proletarian Freethinkers (IPF). Practically an extension of the Union of Militant Atheists of Soviet Russia under E. Yaroslavski, the IPF was an instrument of "revolutionary atheism". The organization was established in 1925 in Berlin, where it had its headquarters until 1932. In 1934, the IPF claimed branches in twenty-four countries outside of Soviet Russia--sixteen in Europe, four in America, three in Asia, and one in Australia.

8. International Juridical Association. Organized by the German Communist lawyers, Alfred Appel and Fritz Loewenthal at the International Juridical Conference in Berlin (1930), the association was designed to expose "class legislation" (Klassenjustiz), and to draw sympathizing elements of the legal profession into its fold. The headquarters, a General Secretariat, was originally located in Berlin, but subsequently moved to Zurich and from there to Brussels (1933).

The activities of the association were chiefly the provision of free legal aid to prominent Communist figures, reportedly paid for by the Comintern, and protest campaigns connected with the treatment of Communists by their respective governments. In 1931 a Swiss member of the association defended Paul Ruegg @ Hilaire Noulens, Secretary of the Far Eastern Bureau, who had been arrested by the Chinese police. In 1933 the association appointed an "International Legal Commission" which staged a counter trial in London to the Reichstag Fire trial then proceeding in Leipzig. In 1934, the association demanded the release of political prisoners from the Spanish Embassy in Paris.

9. Worker's International Relief (WIR). The offspring of an organization created to alleviate famine conditions in the USSR, the WIR (or Mezhabpom) was organized upon the initiative of the ECCI in Berlin in 1921 as an international relief organization mainly for the aid of strikers and locked-out workers in capitalist countries.

Directed by an International Secretariat (located originally in Berlin, and, from 1933, in Paris) which was headed by the German communist and master organizer of communist front organizations, Willy Muenzenberg, the various national branches of WIR were controlled by national committees which included non-communists but were usually directed by a communist secretary.

The functions of the WIR, although charitable in appearance, were conspiratorial in essence since the aid given to striking workers served mainly to transform economic strikes into political-revolutionary action. Muenzenberg himself announced in 1932 that the abolition of capitalism was more important than relief activity per se.

The activities of the WIR consisted mainly in the collection of funds (from 1921-1931 WIR collected and disbursed about \$16,900,000). In addition, the organization branched out into film production and the publication field as a means of obtaining funds. Through the distribution channels of WIR, however, flowed not only relief money but also clandestine party funds, especially to countries where the party was illegal.

10. International Red Aid (IRA). Also known as International Class War Prisoner's Aid, and as MOPR in the USSR, IRA was created about 1922 as a complement to the WIR, and was characterized as the "Red Cross of the Communist International", designed primarily to assist political prisoners and other "victims of bourgeois reaction."

Organizationally, IRA was controlled by an Executive Committee in Moscow composed of representatives from the constituent branches of IRA abroad, which in their turn were controlled by National Committees consisting

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of non-communists and a communist secretary. For practical purposes, IRA was controlled by Willy Muenzenberg, its International Secretary.

IRA functioned in almost every country where a communist party existed. In 1932, according to a Soviet source, IRA operated in sixty-seven countries, partly on a legal basis, and partly illegally (in thirty-six countries). There are some indications that IRA has continued to operate underground in several countries up to the present.

11. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS).

Designed to promote Soviet culture abroad as an instrument of political propaganda, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (known in the Soviet Union in abbreviated form as VOKS) was established in Moscow in 1923, and continues to be active to this day. The branches of the society (thirty-eight were reported in 1930) were normally called Societies for Cultural Relations with Soviet Russia, and were in contact with the Moscow headquarters through local VOKS representatives usually attached to the official diplomatic Soviet representation in the country concerned.

The activities of VOKS can be gauged from the sections of its headquarters, i.e., Foreign Relations, Reception of Foreigners, International Book Exchange, Press, and Exhibitions. VOKS was linked with the Comintern through the Agitprop Department of the ECCI which determined the scope and line of its propaganda activities.

12. Friends of the Soviet Union. Created under VOKS auspices in Moscow in 1927 as an outlet of pro-Soviet propaganda aiming especially at non-communist labor groups abroad, the organization was headed by an International Committee or Bureau under the direction of Willy Muenzenberg in Berlin from where it moved (1933) to Amsterdam. The various national branches of the organizations (twenty-seven were reported in 1934) were directed by a national Committee composed of a communist secretary and non-communist members.

FSU, among its other propagandistic activities, organized trips of non-communist workers' delegations to the USSR as a means of proselytizing. In this respect, FSU acted as an instrumentality of the All-Union Central Council of Labor Unions, and indirectly of the Profintern.

13. International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre. Created in 1925 in Moscow where its International Secretariat was located, this organization aimed at the utilization of theatrical media for political propaganda purposes. National branches existed in several countries of Europe, America and Asia, and were directed by a communist organizer and a non-partisan committee. The organization possessed some significance as a means for the political penetration of the entertainment field.

14. International Union of Revolutionary Writers. Organized in 1925, probably under VOKS auspices, the organization aimed at the utilization of sympathetic elements among the literati abroad for the promotion of pro-Soviet and especially anti-fascist and anti-war themes.

15. International of Revolutionary Painters. Similar in purpose to the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, this Comintern auxiliary was directed by the Hungarian Communist, Bela Vits.

16. International Music Bureau. Established at an international music conference in Moscow in 1932, the Bureau's task was to introduce revolutionary ideology into music. Hanns Eisler, brother of Gerhart Eisler, was reportedly a leading figure in the Bureau.

17. International Association for Medical Ties between the USSR and Foreign Countries. Probably organized by VOKS in ca. 1929, the organization fostered the exchange of information between members of the medical profession in the USSR and abroad, organized visits of foreign delegates, and propagated "socialized medicine".

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18. International of War Veterans and War Victims. Founded in 1920 in Geneva, under the chairmanship of Henri Barbusse, the organization propagandized sympathetic veterans of World War I with a view towards preventing another war, especially an intervention against Soviet Russia. In 1930 the organization claimed a membership of 1,000,000.

19. League Against Imperialism (LAI). Created in 1927 at a congress in Brussels by Willy Muenzenberg and his assistant, Louis Gibarti @ Ladislaus Dobos, the LAI replaced the League for Struggle of Colonial Oppression, and became an "Innocents' Club". It served as a rallying point for anti-imperialist national revolutionary movements, i.e., in India, Indo-China, the Near East, etc., and promoted the Soviet Union as a champion of the liberty of colonial peoples.

The LAI was composed of an International Congress, a General Council, an Executive Committee, an International Secretariat, a Control Commission, and a series of national branches. The International Secretariat, headed by Willy Muenzenberg, was located in Berlin, from where it moved temporarily to Paris and finally--in 1934--to London.

20. World Committee Against War and Fascism. Created in 1932 at a Congress in Amsterdam which had been organized by the Western European Bureau, the World Committee (hq. Paris) was primarily designed to direct public opinion against any aggressor against the Soviet Union--notably against the rising threat of the Fascist powers--and to promote non-interventional pacifism.

Although many members of the World Committee were non-Communists, its control was in the hands of such Communists as Willy Muenzenberg, Henri Barbusse, and Guy Jorram, who were reportedly taking directions from the Political Commission of the Comintern.

21. International Relief Committee for Victims of Hitler's Fascism. This committee (founded before 1933) was succeeded by the Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism in 1933, and was mainly directed by Louis Gibarti, probably from Paris.

22. Miscellaneous: The All Slav Committee, Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Women, Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, and Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee were organized before the dissolution of the Comintern, but there are no indications that they were directly integrated into the ECCI. They have continued their activities to the present in a reasonably public fashion.

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IX. DISSOLUTION OF THE COMINTERN

On 15 May 1943—six months after the liberation of Stalingrad, five days before the arrival in Moscow of President Roosevelt's personal representative, Joseph Davies, and in the same month that GUGB (Central Directorate of State Security) was transformed from an NKVD directorate into an independent commissariat (NKGB)—the Praesidium of the ECCI arrived at the decision to dissolve the Comintern, and announced (Moscow radio, 10 June 1943; Pravda and Izvestia, 10 and 11 June 1943) that 31 out of the 76 sections affiliated to the Comintern at the time of the Seventh World Congress had approved the dissolution. The liquidation resolution was signed by the following twelve Praesidium members:

Gottwald (Czechoslovakia)	Manuilsky (USSR)
Dimitrov (Bulgaria)	Marty (France)
Zhdanov (USSR)	Thorez (France)
Kolarov (Bulgaria)	Pieck (Germany)
Koplenig (Austria)	Florin (Germany)
Kuusinen (USSR)	Togliatti (Italy)

As an expression of their concurrence, the following leading Communists also affixed their signature. Bianco (Italy), Dolores Ibarruri (Spain), (Inkeri?) Lehtinen (Finland), Anna Pauker (Rumania), and Matyas Rakosi (Hungary). The sections approving the dissolution were listed as follows:

1. Communist Party of Australia
2. " " Austria
3. " " Argentina
4. " " Belgium
5. " " Bulgaria
6. " " Great Britain
7. " " Hungary
8. " " Germany
9. " " Ireland
10. " " Spain
11. " " Italy
12. " " Canada
13. United Socialist Party of Catalonia
14. Communist Party of China
15. " " Colombia
16. Revolutionary Communist Union of Cuba
17. Communist Party of Mexico
18. Workers' Party of Poland
19. Communist Party of Rumania
20. " " Syria
21. All-Union Communist Party USSR
22. Communist Party of Uruguay
23. " " Finland
24. " " France
25. " " Czechoslovakia
26. " " Chile
27. " " Switzerland
28. " " Sweden
29. " " Yugoslavia
30. " " Union of South Africa
31. Communist International of Youth

The Communist Party of the USA was not included because this section had left the Comintern in 1940.

In order to accomplish the "practical liquidation of the affairs, organs, apparatus, and property of the Communist International", a so-called Liquidation Commission, composed of Dimitrov, Manuilski, Pieck and Togliatti, was appointed. According to a reliable source, the Liquidation Commission cooperated closely with V. N. Merkulov, then Peoples Commissar of the NKGB, S. N. Kruglov, then vice-commissar of the NKVD, and Colonel General Appolonov, vice-commissar of the NKVD.

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The liquidation of the Comintern was arrived at by unconstitutional means since only the World Congress was empowered to "decide...organizational questions" and "to alter the program and the rules of the Comintern". Post facto ratification of the dissolution decree by the individual sections similarly was a procedure not allowed for in official Comintern statutes. The scope of the liquidation itself was also rather hazily formulated. While, for example, the dissolution of the ECCI, together with its Praesidium, Secretariat and the International Control Commission, was decreed expressis verbis, no mention was made of the Sectional (Laender) Secretariat, the Permanent Bureaus, the functional departments of the Political Secretariat, the institution of Comintern representatives, and of the Comintern auxiliaries. Neither were the sections explicitly relieved of their obligations under the 21 Conditions of Admission which included the duty to aid Soviet Russia, to maintain illegal apparatus, etc.

Whatever the tactical or propagandistic value of announcing the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943, in organizational terms the ECCI and its subordinate departments and agencies were effectively dissolved. Parts of the Comintern executive staff structure in Moscow were liquidated before 1943; i.e., the plenary sessions of the ECCI and the World Congresses; others had, by the middle of the war, clearly outlived their usefulness; and others, finally, were apparently absorbed by departments of the Soviet government and of the CPSU in Moscow. For the moment, therefore, it may be accepted that the Praesidium of the ECCI stated a fact when it announced in May 1943 that "the experience accumulated by the Communist International convincingly showed that the organizational form of uniting workers chosen by the First Congress had been outgrown."

This major organizational shift, however, clearly had little effect upon the efficient coordination and control of the international Communist movement. The functions of the old Comintern which were still of importance were simply carried out by less formal and less centralized means. What happened to the Comintern's political direction apparatus and its clandestine action agencies, and the methods by which the international Communist movement was directed and coordinated after May 1943 will form the subject of a separate analysis.

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APPENDIX A

WORLD CONGRESS DELEGATES

The following is a list of delegates from various national Communist parties to the Seven World Congresses. The year cited in parenthesis represents the year of the World Congress attended.

ALGERIA

Aborderamo (1928)
Ben Said (1928)
Dodain (1935)
Luzien (1935)

BRAZIL

Lacerda (1928, 1935)
Margues (1935)

BULGARIA

Dimitrov (1928, 1935)
Kabakchiev (1922)
Kolarov (1922, 1924, 1928, 1935)
Krumov (1935)
Rogitsch (1928)

ALSACE-LORRAINE

Friedrich (1935)

ARABIA

Ramsi (1935)

CANADA

Buck (1924)
Clark (1935)
George (1935)
Macdonald (1928)
Spector (1928)

ARGENTINA

Ghioldi (1935)
More (1935)
Ranoto (1928)
Toros (1935)

CHILE

Borkes (1935)

AUSTRALIA

Billet (1935)
Earsman (1922)
Garden (1922)
Montefiore (1924)
Sharkoy (1935)

CHINA

Chang-Chen (1928)
Chang-Pyoo (1928)
Chen-Kuang (1928)
Chen Shao-yu @ Wang-Ming (1935)
Chen Tu-hsiu (1922)
Chinwa (1924)
Chou Ho-sin (1935)
Chou Min (1935)
Chou Hsiu-mao (1928)
Hang Sheng (1935)
Kon Yuan (1935)
Li Kuang (1928, 1935)
Liau Pu (1935)
Ling To-sing (1935)
Lu Hai-chou (1928)
Pionorov (1928)
Si Juan-sin (1935)
Su (1928)
Sunitin (1935)
Tsu-Tsu-bo @ Strakhnev (1928)
Yu Yen-chin (1922)
Wang Yung (1935)

AUSTRIA

Benedict (1928)
Berger (1935)
Dobler or Doppler (1935)
Fiela (1924, 1928)
Friedlaender (1922)
Gruen (1922)
Hermann (1935)
Koplonig (1928, 1935)
Reiter (1935)
Schoenfelder (1928)
Stern (1922)
Wiedon (1935)
Wiedmann or Wiedemann (1935)

BELGIUM

Coenen (1928)
Jacquemotto (1924, 1928, 1935)
Morea (1935)
Van Extergen (1935)

COLUMBIA

Arso (1928)
Cardenas (1928)
Reno (1935)

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CUBA

Buono (1935)
 Marin (1935)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bolon (1922)
 Chorez-Volek (1928)
 Fried (1924)
 Gottwald (1928, 1935)
 Haken (1928)
 Horský (1928)
 Hrsol (1924, 1928)
 Jilek (1928)
 Koehler (1935)
 Kohn (1924)
 Kopocky (1935)
 Kores (1928)
 Kreibich (1922)
 Melchior (1928)
 Mondok (1928)
 Nourath (1922, 1924)
 Reimann (1928)
 Slensky (1935)
 Smoral (1922, 1924, 1928)
 Stern (1928)
 Sturec (1922)
 Sverma (1935)
 Wenzel (1924)
 Zapotocky (1928, 1935)

DENMARK

Hansen, Johannes (1935)
 Larson (1935)
 Toderon (1928)
 Tolgersen (1928)

EGYPT

Keslo (1922)
 Lenoir (1935)

ECUADOR

Parados (1928)

ESTONIA

Anvult (1928)
 Kuus (1935)

FINLAND

Casparova (1922)
 Kuusinen (1922, 1924, 1928, 1935)
 Lehtosaari (1935)
 Mäkinen (1935)
 Mannor (1935)
 Tuominen (1935)

FRANCE

Barbe (1928)
 Bernard (1928)
 Berron (1922)
 Billoux (1928)
 Cachin (1922, 1928, 1935)
 Cartier (1922)
 Color (1928)
 Chassaigne (1924)
 Cordon (1922)
 Drostree (1922)
 Duret (1922)
 Faure, Paul (1922)
 Ferrat (1928)
 Fracchon (1928)
 Frossard (1922)
 Garchery (1922)
 Gitton (1935)
 Gourdeaux (1922)
 Guillbeaux (1919, 1924)
 Guyot (1935)
 Henriot (1922)
 Honel (1922)
 Jonn (1922)
 Ker (1922)
 Laquesso (1922)
 Lauriden (1922)
 Loseray (1928)
 Marranc (1922)
 Morizot (1922)
 Medelec (1935)
 Paqueroaux (1922)
 Pillot (1928)
 Plais (1922)
 Racmond (1928)
 Rappoport (1922)
 Renaud, Jean (1922, 1935)
 Renault (1922)
 Renouit (1922)
 Rioux (1922)
 Rochot (1935)
 Rosmor (1922)
 Sollier (1922, 1924)
 Somard (1928)
 Souvarine (1922, 1924)
 Tourly (1922)
 Treint (1924)
 Vaillant-Couturier (1921)
 Worth (1922)

GERMANY

Ackermann (1935)
 Arndt (1935)
 Baer (1924)
 Balduer (1935)
 Becker (1922)
 Blunkle (1928)
 Brandler (1922, 1924)
 Braun (1924)
 Dahlem (1935)
 Dongol (1924, 1928)
 Duncker (1928)
 Eberlein (1919, 1922)
 Ewert (1928)

SECRET

SECRETGERMANY (Cont'd)

Fisher, Ruth (1922, 1924)
 Florin (1928, 1935)
 Franz (1935)
 Freimuth (1924)
 Funk (1935)
 Gaetner (1935)
 Grube (1928)
 Heckert (1922, 1928, 1935)
 Herzog (1924)
 Hoernle (1922)
 Karl (1935)
 Kleine (1924)
 Koenen, Wilhelm (1922)
 Meyer, Ernst (1922)
 Muenzenberg (1922, 1928)
 Neumann, Heinz (1928)
 Nischwitz (1928)
 Olbrisch (1928)
 Opitz (1928)
 Paris (1928)
 Pieck (1935)
 Remmele (1928)
 Seelig (1924)
 Sommer (1924)
 Stein (1935)
 Sturm, Herta (1922)
 Thalheimer (1922, 1924)
 Thaelmann (1924, 1928, 1935)
 Tittel
 Ulbricht (1928, 1935)
 Urbans (1922)
 Walter (1935)
 Weber (1935)
 Zetkin, Klara (1922, 1924, 1928)

GREAT BRITAIN

Arnot (1928)
 Bell (1928)
 Bennett (1928)
 Brown (1924)
 Campbell (1935)
 Clark (1922)
 Cohen (1928)
 Cox (1928, 1935)
 Douglas (1924)
 Dutt (1928, 1935)
 * Gollan (1935)
 Joss (1922)
 Hannington (1928)
 Kerrigan (1935)
 Lumblay (1928)
 MacManus (1924)
 Mann, Tom (1924)
 Pollitt (1935)
 Rooke (1935)
 Rothstein (1928)
 Rust (1928)
 Sandyforth (1928)
 Shields (1935)
 Steward (1928)
 Webb (1922)
 * Gallacher (1935)

GREECE

Desordos (1935)
 Maximos (1924)
 Nicolau (1928)
 Petkov (1935)
 Saris (1928)
 Syphaios (1928)
 Nepheloudes (1935)
 Stylianos Sklavainos (1935)
 Zachariades (1935)

HOLLAND

De Groot (1935)
 De Leeuw (1935)
 De Visser (1924, 1928)
 Ravesteyn (1922)
 Schalker (1935)
 Wynkoop (1924)

HUNGARY

Kemeny (1928)
 Kovacs (1935)
 Kun, Bela (1922, 1928, 1935)
 Landler (1922)
 Nagy (1935)
 Rakosi (1922)
 Varga (1922, 1924, 1928)

ICELAND

Bjarnasson (1935)
 Olgeirson (1935)

INDIA

Narajan (1928)
 Machmuth (1928)
 Raza (1928)
 Roy (1922, 1924)
 Sekander (1928)
 Tambe (1935)

INDO-CHINA

An (1928)
 Chajan (1935)
 Nguyen-Ai-Quok (1924)
 Van Lian (1935)
 Van Tan (1935)

INDONESIA

Alfonso (1928)
 Alimin (1928)
 Banderas (1928)
 Darsono (1928)

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SECRETINDONESIA (Cont'd)

Kassamin (1928)
 Manawan (1928)
 Roestam Effendi (1935)
 Semaun (1924)
 Tan Malakka (1922)

IRAQ

Represented in 1935 by
 Ramsi of Arabia

IRAN

Kamran (1935)
 Naderi (1935)
 Schagri (1928)
 Scharedschi (1928)
 Sultan-Zade (1928)

IRELAND

Brown (1924)
 Carney (1928)
 Conolly (1922)
 Murray (1935)

ITALY

Arcuno (1922)
 Azzario (1922)
 Battista (1935)
 Bombacci (1922)
 Bordiga (1922, 1924)
 De Vittorio (1928)
 Donofrio (1922)
 Furini (1935)
 Garlandi (1928, 1935)
 Gennari (1922)
 Germanetto (1922)
 Corelli (1922)
 Guilianini (1922)
 Gramsci (1922)
 Graziadei (1922)
 Longo (1922)
 Lunedi (1922)
 Marabini (1922)
 Natangelo (1922)
 Peluso (1922)
 Presutti (1922)
 Piccini (1924)
 Rienzi (1924)
 Rosso (1924)
 Serrati (1922)
 Scoccimaro (1922)
 Sierra (1928)
 Tasco (1922)
 Togliatti (1924, 1928, 1935)
 Tresco (1922)

JAPAN

Katayama (1922, 1924, 1928)
 Katok (1928)
 Okano (1935)
 Omura (1928)
 Nisikava (1935)
 Tanaka (1928, 1935)
 Tokuda (1926, 1927)

KOREA

Kim (1935)

LATVIA

Michiewicz-Kapsukas (1928)
 Martin (1935)

LEBANON

Ariss (1935)

LITHUANIA

Angaretis (1928, 1935)

LUXEMBOURG

Mueller (1935)

MEXICO

Anaya (1928)
 Carrillo (1928)
 Contreras (1928)
 Marengo (1935)
 Ramirez (1928)
 Serrano (1935)
 Wolfe (1924)

MOROCCO

Represented in 1935 by
 Ramsi of Arabia

NEW ZEALAND

Andrews (1935)
 Griffin (1928)

NORWAY

Hansen (1924, 1928)
 Hermansen (1928)

SECRET

SECRETNORWAY (Cont'd)

Lie, Ottar (1935)
 Loevlien (1935)
 Meyer (1922)
 Schefflo (1922)
 Torp (1922)

PALESTINE

Hadyar or Heidar (1928, 1935)
 Jussuf (1935)

PARAGUAY

Ibarola (1928)

PERU

Rabines (1935)

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Leonardo (1935)

POLAND

Bielewski (1928, 1935)
 Brandt (1928)
 Bronkovski (1935)
 Dombal (1928)
 Donski (1922)
 Gorski (1924)
 Gruenbaum (1928)
 Grzegorzewski (1924)
 Henrykovski (1935)
 Hervik (1928)
 Keller (1922)
 Krulikovski (1928)
 Koshchova (1922, 1928)
 Lenski (1924, 1928, 1935)
 Limanovski (1928)
 Ordont (1924)
 Pruchniak (1922, 1935)
 Ring (1928)
 Rosenberg (1935)
 Stanislavski (1924, 1928)

PORTUGAL

Albino (1935)
 Quicros (1935)

RUMANIA

Draganov (1935)
 Georescu (1924)
 Ordoljan (1935)

RUMANIA (Cont'd)

Pauker (1922)
 Petrulescu (1928)
 Popescu (1924)

SIAM

Raschi (1935)

SPAIN

Acebedo (1922)
 Alonzo (1924)
 Diaz (1935)
 Evaristo (1935)
 Garcia (1935)
 Ibarrubi (1935)
 Martinez (1935)
 Ventura (1935)

SWEDEN

Flyg (1928)
 Hocglund (1924)
 Kilbom (1928)
 Linderot (1935)
 Samuelson (1924)
 Wretling (1935)

SWITZERLAND

Bodenmann (1928, 1935)
 Bringolf (1924)
 Humbert-Droz (1922, 1928)
 Krebs (1928)
 Panotti (1935)

SYRIA

Nadir

TRANSJORDANIA

Represented in 1935 by
 Ramsi of Arabia.

TRIPOLITANIA

Represented in 1935 by
 Ramsi of Arabia.

TUNISIA

Colter (1935)
 Mustapha (1928)

SECRET

SECRETTURKEY

Atik (1935)
 Fachri (1928)
 Faplouk (1924)
 Ferdi (1935)
 Orhan (1922)

U.S.A. (Cont'd)

Weinstone (1928)
 Wicks (1928)
 Wolfe (1928)

U.S.S.R.UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Bunting, Rebecca (1928)
 Bunting, S. P. (1922, 1928)
 Eugene (1935)
 Henderson, Beatrice (1935)
 Roux (1928)

Bukharin (1922, 1924, 1928)
 Gopner (1935)
 Kirsanova (1935)
 Khintshuk (1922)
 Kon (1922)
 Krajevski (1935)
 Krupskaja (1922)
 Lenin (1922)
 Lominadse (1928)
 Manuilski (1928, 1935)

URUGUAY

Nala or Sala (1928)

Martynov (1928)
 Meshcherjakov (1922)
 Mikolos (1928)
 Molotov (1928)
 Moskvina (1935)
 Pervukin (1928)
 Petrovski (1924)
 Piatnitzky (1924, 1928, 1935)
 Piastkovski (1924)
 Popov (1935)
 Ossinski (1928)
 Radek (1922)
 Riasanov (1924)
 Ryal (1935)
 Rykov (1928)
 Saferov (1922)
 Shubin (1928)
 Skrypnik (1928)
 Sokolov (1935)
 Stalin (1924, 1928, 1935)
 Theodorovich (1922)
 Travin (1928)
 Trotzky (1922, 1924)
 Vassiliev (1924, 1928)
 Zinoviev (1922, 1924)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Amter (1924)
 Bedacht (1921, 1922)
 Bilan (1920)
 Bittelman (1928)
 Bloor (1921)
 Browder (1928, 1935)
 Cannon @ Cartwright (1922)
 Crosby (1921)
 Darcy (1928, 1935)
 Dunne (1924, 1928)
 Ford (1928, 1935)
 Fort-Whiteman (1928)
 Foster (1928, 1935)
 Fraina (1920)
 Gitlow (1928)
 Gomez (1928)
 Green (1935)
 Hall (1928)
 Haywood (1921)
 Hourwich (1921)
 Huiswood (1922)
 Jackson (1924)
 Jorgis (1920)
 Katterfeld (1922)
 Kucher (1922)
 Lindgren (1920)
 Lovestone (1928)
 Miner (1921, 1935)
 McKay (1922)
 Pogany (1924, 1928)
 Pullman (1922)
 Reed (1919, 1920)
 Reinstein (1919)
 Rutgers (1919)
 Stocklitsky (1920)
 Sullivan (1922)
 Swabeck (1922)
 Trachtenberg (1922)
 Tyworousky (1921)

VENEZUELA

Martinez (1928)
 Rivas (1935)

YUGOSLAVIA

Boshkovich (1924)
 Gorkich (1935)
 Lidin (1928)
 Schmidt (1935)

NOTE: The Communist Parties of BOLIVIA, COSTA RICA, PANAMA, PORTO RICO and HAITI were not represented by their own delegates but by other delegates from Latin America.

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APPENDIX B

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

1. Elected at the First World Congress, 1919:

Anderson	U.S.A.
Balabanova, Angelica	Italy & USSR
Bilan, Alexander	USA
Bombacci, Nicola	Italy
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Delinieres	France
Friis @ Fried @ Fogaras	Norway & Scandinavia
Graziadei	Italy
Grimlund, Otto	Sweden
Karakhan	USSR
Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
Klinger	USSR
Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich	USSR
Liau Chau	China
MacLean, Neil	Great Britain
Marchlewski, J.	Poland
Milkich	Yugoslavia
Pak, Houn-Yung	Korea and Far East
Rakosi, Matyas	Hungary
Reed, John	U.S.A.
Reussler	Germany
Ruda, Ladislaus	Hungary
Rudnianski, A.	Hungary
Rutgers, Sebald Justinus	Holland
Sadoul, Jacques	France
Seratti	Italy
Shablin	Bulgaria
Shatskin, Lazar	Comm. Int'l of Youth
Sirola, Yrjo	Finland
Stocklitsky, Alexander	U.S.A.
Stuchka, P. I.	Oatvia
Vacirka, Vincenzo	Italy
Vorovski	USSR
Welch, Tom	G. Britain
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

2. Elected at the Second World Congress, 1920:

	Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate	Cesaro	Italy
Alternate	Chicherin, George	USSR
	Friis @ Fried @ Fogaraszi	Norway and Scandinavia
	Gurvich	USA
	Hula	Czechoslovakia
	Janson	Holland
	Kobetski	USSR
Alternate	Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich	USSR
Alternate	Levi, Paul	Germany
	Manner, K.	Finland
	Maring	Java
	Merino Garcia	Spain
	Milkich	Yugoslavia
	Pak, Houn-Yung	Korea and Far East
Alternate	Pavlovich	USSR
	Radek, Karl	Poland & USSR
	Reed, John	USA
	Rosmer, A.	France
	Rudnianski, A.	Hungary
	Seratti	Italy
	Shablin	Bulgaria
	Shatskin, Lazar	Com. Int'l of Youth

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Alternate	Stalin, Josef	USSR
	Steinhart, Karl	Austria
Alternate	Stuchka, P. I.	Datvia
	Sultan-Zade, A.	Near East, Persia
	Tomski, M.	USSR
Alternate	Trotsky, Leon D.	USSR
Alternate	Tsiporovich	USSR
	Tskhakaya	Georgia
Alternate	Varga, Eugen	Hungary
	Welch, Tom	G. Britain
	Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

3. Elected at the Third World Congress 1921:

	Ambrogi	Italy
Alternate	Angaretis, Alexander	Lithuania
	Arnold, Emil	Switzerland
	Bell, Thomas G.	G. Britain
	Berzin, J. K.	USSR
	Bodulescu	Rumania
	Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate	Bunting, S. P.	South Africa
	Burian, Edmund	Czechoslovakia
	Katterfield, L. E. @ Carr	USA
Alternate	Chzhan	China
	Cook	USA
Alternate	Dimitros	Greece
Alternate	Earsman, W. P.	Australia
	Eberlein, Hugo	Germany
	Froelich, Paul	Germany
	Glinki	Poland
Alternate	Grecco, J.	Latin America
Alternate	Hamannchen	Korea
	Hockert, Fritz	Germany
	Henriot, A.	France
	Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
	Iordanov	Bulgaria
Alternate	Janson	Luxemburg
	Manson	Holland
Alternate	Jones, David Ivon	South Africa
Alternate	Jorgenson	Denmark
Alternate	Kassiyen	Armenia
	Katayama, Sen	Japan
	Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
	Koplenig, Johann	Austria
	Koritschoner, Fritz	Austria
	Kreibich, Karl	Czechoslovakia
	Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
	Lekai	Com. International of Youth; Hungary
	Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich	USSR
	Lossing	France
	Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU
	Manner	Finland
	Markovich	Yugoslavia
	Mikhail	Com. International of Youth
	Muenzenberg, Willi	Com. International of Youth, Germany
Alternate	Mussabokov	Azerbaijan
	Neurath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
	van Overstraten	Belgium
Alternate	Pogelmann	Estonia
Alternate	Penelon, J. F.	Latin America
	Popov, Dimitri S.	Bulgaria
	Pruchniak	Poland
	Radok, Karl	Poland & USSR
Alternate	Roy, Manabendranath	India
Alternate	Salih	Turkey
	Schefflo	Norway
	Schueler, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria

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	Shumski	Ukraine
	Sirota, Yrjo	Finland
	Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
	Souvarine, Boris	France
	Stuchka, P. I.	Latvia
Alternate	Sultan Zade, A.	Near East, Persia
	Terracini, Umberto	Italy
	Trotzky, Leon D.	USSR
Alternate	Tskhakaya	Georgia
	Tywerousky, Oscar @ Baldwin	USA
Alternate	Valenius	Ireland
	Zetkin, Klara	Germany
	Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

4. Elected at the Fourth World Congress, 1922:

	Andrews, William H.	South Africa
Alternate	Boettcher, Paul	Germany
Alternate	Bordiga, Amedeo	Italy
	Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
	Cannon, James P.	USA
	Duret, Jean	France
	Eberlein, Hugo	Germany
	Frossard, L. O.	France
	Garden	Australia
	Gennari, Edigio	Italy
	Gramsci, Antonio	Italy
	Hoeglund, Zeth	Sweden
	Hoernle, Edwin	Germany
	Katayama, Sen	Japan
	Katterfeld, L.E. @ Carr	USA
	Kolarov, Vasil	Balkans and Bulgaria
	Kuusinen, O. V.	Finland
Alternate	Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich	USSR
	MacManus, Aodh	G. Britain (Ireland)
Alternate	Maklaveli	Balkans
Alternate	Munn	Czechoslovakia
	Nourath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Newbold, G. T. Walton	G. Britain
	Pruchniak	Poland
	Radek, Karl	Poland & USSR
Alternate	Roy, Manabendranath	India
	Ruthenberg, Charles E. @ Damon	USA
	Safarov	Orient
	Schofflo	Norway
	Schueller, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
	Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
	Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
	Souvarine, Boris	France
	Stuerner (or Stirner)	Latin America
Alternate	Trotzky, Leon D.	USSR
	Zetkin, Klara	Germany
	Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

5. Elected at the Fifth World Congress in 1924:

Alternate	Bogucki	Poland
	Bordiga, Amedeo	Italy
	Boshkovich	Yugoslavia
	Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
	Ch'on Tu-hsiu	China
	Christescu	Rumania
Alternate	Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
Alternate	Dobrowolny, Jan	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Doriot, Jacques	France

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Alternate	Dunne, William F.	USA
	Fiala, Gottlieb	Austria
	Filippovich, Filip	Yugoslavia
Alternate	Fisher, Ruth	Germany
	Foster, William Z.	USA
	Frunze	Ukraine
Alternate	Gallacher, William	G. Britain
	Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Alternate	Girault, Suzanne	France
	Grzegorzewski	Poland
Alternate	Hansen, Arvid Gilbert	Norway
	Hessen	Com. International of Youth
	Hoeglund, Zeth	Sweden
	Jacquemotte, Joseph	Belgium
Alternate	Jerram, Guy	France
	Kamenev	USSR
	Katayama, Sen	Japan
	Katslerovich	Yugoslavia
	Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
	Kolarov, Vasil	Balkans & Bulgaria
Alternate	Kun, Bela	Hungary
	Kuusinen, O. V.	Finland
Alternate	Larkin, Jim	Ireland
Alternate	Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU
	MacManus, Aodh	G. Britain
Alternate	Maffi, Bruno	Italy
	Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	Ukraine & USSR
Alternate	Marco	Italy
	Marinovich	Yugoslavia
Alternate	Markovich	Yugoslavia
Alternate	Maslov	Germany
Alternate	Meyer, Ernst	Germany
Alternate	Mickevic-Kapsukas, V.	Baltic States
	Muna	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Nebobytny	Poland
	Nourath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
	Penelon, J. F.	Latin America
	Perez Solis	Spain
Alternate	Petrov	USSR
	Pollitt, Harry	G. Britain
Alternate	Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Alternate	Rienzi	Italy
Alternate	Robert	Germany
	Roy, Manabendranath	India
	Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
	Rykov	USSR
	Samacoen	Java
Alternate	Samuelson	Sweden
	Schefflo	Norway
	Schlecht	Germany
	Schueller, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
Alternate	Scoccimarro, Mauro	Italy
	Sellier, Jean	France
	Semard, Pierce	France
Alternate	Simich	Yugoslavia
	Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Sokolnikov, G. Y.	USSR
	Stalin, Josef	USSR
Alternate	Stewart	G. Britain
	Terrain, Guy	France
	Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
	Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
	Treint, Albert	France
Alternate	Trotsky, Leon D.	USSR
Alternate	Vercik	Czechoslovakia
	Vuiovich	Com. Int'l of Youth; Yugoslavia
	Wynkopp	Holland
Alternate	Zapotocki, Antonin	Czechoslovakia
	Zetkin, Klara	Germany
	Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

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6. Elected at the Sixth World Congress, 1928:

	Barbo, Henri	France
	Bell, Thomas G.	Great Britain
	Berzin J. K.	USSR
Alternate	Billoux, Francois	Com. International of Youth, France
	Blenklo	Com. International of Youth
	Boshkovich	Yugoslavia
Alternate	Boshnich	Yugoslavia
	Bulcharin, Nicolai	USSR
	Carrillo, Jose	Mexico
Alternate	Chang Pyao	China
Alternate	Darsono	Indonesia
	Dengel, Philipp	Germany
Alternate	Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
Alternate	Doriot, Jacques	France
Alternate	Ewert, Arthur	Germany
	Ferdi	Turkey
	Formin-Araya	Chile
	Foster, William Z.	USA
Alternate	Frachon, Benoit	France
	Furubotten, Peder	Norway
	Ghioldi, Rodolfo	Argentina
Alternate	Gitlow, Benjamin	USA
	Gomez, Eugenio	Uruguay
Alternate	Gopner	USSR
	Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Grieco, Ruggiero @ Garlandi	Italy
Alternate	Guan Li	Com. International of Youth
Alternate	Gusev, Sergei Ivanovich	USSR
Alternate	Hansen, Arvid Gilbert	Norway
Alternate	Heckert, Fritz	Germany
Alternate	Horner, Arthur	G. Britain
	Hsiang	China
Alternate	Huiswood, Otto	USA
	Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
	Jacquemotte, Joseph	Belgium
	Jilek	Czechoslovakia
	Katayama, Sen	Japan
	Kato	Japan
Alternate	Kavanagh	Australia
	Khitarov, Rafail Moiseyevich	Com. International of Youth
	Kilbon, Karl	Sweden
	Kolarov, Vasil	Balkans & Bulgaria
	Koplenig, Johan	Austria
	Kun, Bela	Hungary
	Kuusinen, O. V.	Finland
	Lodo, Americo	Brazil
	Leszynski, Julius @ Lenski	Poland
	Li Juang	China
Alternate	Lopez	Cuba
	Lovestone, Jay	USA
Alternate	Lowicki	Poland
	Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU
	Tan Malakka, Ibrahim	Indonesia
	Manner, K.	Finland
	Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	Ukraine & USSR
	Mickevic-Kapsukas, V.	Baltic States
Alternate	Moirova	USSR
	Molotov, Vyacheslav M.	USSR
Alternate	Monmousseau, Gaston Rene	France
	Musso, M.	Indonesia
Alternate	Naorodii	India
Alternate	Pascal	Spain
	Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
Alternate	Pollitt, Harry	G. Britain
	Popescu	Rumania
Alternate	Puhrmann	Poland
	Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR

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Alternate	Reimann, Max	Czechoslovakia
	Rommelo, Herrmann	Germany
Alternate	Riasco, Guilio	Colombia & Ecuador
	Rust, William	Com. International of Youth
	Rykov	USSR
	Samuelson	Sweden
Alternate	Schneller, E.	Germany
	Semard, Pierce	France
	Serra	Italy
Alternate	Shauki	Egypt, Palestine, Syria
Alternate	Sillen, Hugo	Sweden
	Skrypnik	USSR
	Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Sokolik	Poland
	Spector, Maurice	Canada
	Stalin, Josef	USSR
	Syphenios	Greece
	Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
	Thaterdia	India
	Thorez, Maurice	France
	Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Alternate	Tolgerson	Denmark
	Tsu Tsu-bo @ Strakhov	China
Alternate	Turin	Italy
Alternate	Ulbricht, Walter	Germany
Alternate	Varga, Eugen	Hungary
Alternate	Vercik	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	Visser, Louis L.H.	Holland
Alternate	Watanabe, Mananosuke @ Assano	Japan
	Wieser	Switzerland
Alternate	Yaroslavski, E.	USSR
Alternate	Zapotocki, Antonin	Czechoslovakia
	Zetkin, Klara	Germany

7. Elected at the Seventh World Congress, 1935:

Alternate	Belewski	Poland
Alternate	Bradley, Benjamin.	G. Britain
	Bronkowski	Poland
	Browder, Earl	USA
	Buck, Tim	Canada
	Cachin, Marcel	France
	Calderio, Francisco Wilfredo	
	@ Roca, Blas	Cuba
Alternate	Campbell, John Ross	G. Britain
	Chang Kuo-tao	China
Alternate	Chemodanov V.	Com. International of Youth
	Chen Shao-yu @ Wang Ming	China
	Chou-En-Lai	China
Alternate	Dahlen, Franz	Germany
Alternate	Dernborger,	
	Diaz, Jose	Spain
	Dimitriu	Rumania
	Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
	Duclos, Jacques	France
Alternate	Dutt, Rajani Palme	Great Britain
	Florin, Wilhelm	Germany
	Ford, James W.	USA
	Foster, William Z.	USA
Alternate	Frachon, Benoit	France
Alternate	Frunze	Ukraine
	Gallacher, William	Great Britain
Alternate	Ghioldi, Rodolfo	Argentina
Alternate	Gopner	USSR
Alternate	Gorkich, M. M.	Yugoslavia
	Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
	Green, Gilbert	USA

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	Grieco, Ruggiero @ Garlandi	Italy
	Guyot, Raymond	France
	Habud Salim	
	Hayen	
	Heckert, Fritz	Germany
Alternate	Ibarruri, Dolores	Spain
	Itsikawa	Japan
Alternate	Jacquemotte, Joseph	Belgium
	Quiceros, Antonio	Portugal
	Kochler, Bruno	Czechoslovakia
	Kolarov, Vasil	Balkans & Bulgaria
Alternate	Kang Sheng	China
	Koplenig, Johann	Austria
Alternate	Koritschoner, Fritz	Austria
Alternate	Krumin	Baltic States
	Kun, Bela	Hungary
	Kuusinen, O. V.	Finland
	Leszynski, Julius @ Lenski	Poland
	Linderot, Sven Lasse	Sweden
Alternate	Loevlion, Emil	Norway
Alternate	Lozevski, Solomon A.	RILU
	Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	Ukraine & USSR
	Mao Tse-tung	China
	Marty, Andre	France
Alternate	Mickevic-Kapsukas	Baltic States
	Nozaka, Sanzo @ Sano-Seki @ Susumu Okano	Japan
	Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
Alternate	Po Ku (Ch'in Pang-Hsien)	China
	Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Alternate	Popov, N.	USSR
	Prestes, Luis Carlos	Brazil
Alternate	Pruchniak	Poland
	Rakosi, Matyas	Hungary
Alternate	Schalkon, Jan	Holland
Alternate	Shablin	Bulgaria
	Sharkey, Earl	Australia
Alternate	Siroki, William	Czechoslovakia
	Stalin, Joseph	USSR
	Stefanov, Boris	Rumania
Alternate	Steinov	Bulgaria
Alternate	Sverma, Jan	Czechoslovakia
	Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
	Thorez, Maurice	France
	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
	Trilisser, Mikhail @ Moskwin	USSR
Alternate	Tuominen, Arvo	Finland
Alternate	Ullricht, Walter	Germany
Alternate	Varga, Eugen	Hungary
	Visser, Louis L. H.	Holland
	Yezhov	USSR
Alternate	Zapotocki, Antonio	Czechoslovakia
	Zhdanov, Andrei Alexandrovich	USSR

NOTE: The following persons were included on an unconfirmed list of
ECCI members in 1935:

Alternate	Furini	Italy
Alternate	Mikhail	Com. International of Youth
	Zachariades	Greece

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APPENDIX C

MEMBERS OF THE PRAESIDIUM OF THE ECCI.

1. Elected at the Plenum of August 7, 1920:

Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Coonen, Felix*	Belgium
Kobetski	USSR
Kun, Bela*	Hungary
Meyer, Ernst	Germany
Radek, Karl*	USSR
Rosmer, A.	France
Rudnianski, A.	Hungary
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

* elected later, before III Congress.

2. Elected at the Third World Congress, 22 June--12 July 1921:

Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Gennari, Edigio	Italy
Heckert, Fritz	Germany (RILU)
Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
Kun, Bela	Hungary
Radek, Karl	USSR
Souvarine, Boris	France
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

3. Elected at the Constituent Meeting of the Executive Committee of 13 July, 1921:

Brandler, Heinrich	Germany
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Katterfeld, L.E. @ Carr	USA
Kreibich, Karl	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Radek, Karl	USSR
Sollier, Jean	France
Souvarine, Boris	France
Terracini, Umberto	Italy
Alternate Valetski, G.	Poland
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

4. Presumably elected at the Second Plenum:

Ambrogi	Italy
Brandler, Heinrich	Germany
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Iordanov	Bulgaria
Katterfeld, L.E. @ Carr	USA
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Radek, Karl	USSR
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Souvarine, Boris	France
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

5. Elected after the Fourth Congress, 1922:

Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Gennari, Edigio	Italy
Gramsci, Antonio	Italy
Hoernle, Edwin	Germany
Katayama, Sen.	Japan
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
MacManus, Aodh	Great Britain
Neurath, Alois	Czechoslovakia

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5. Fourth Congress (Cont'd)

Radok, Karl	USSR
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Zetkin, Klara	Germany
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

6. Elected at the Third Plenum, 1922:

Bordiga, Amedeo	Italy
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
MacManus, Aodh	Great Britain
Neurath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
Radok, Karl	USSR
Schueler, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Souvarino, Boris	France
Terracini, Umberto	Italy
Zetkin, Klara	Germany
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

7. Presumably elected at the Fourth Plenum, 1924:

Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate Fisher, Ruth	Germany
Alternate Frunze	USSR & Ukraine
Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Alternate Kamenov	USSR
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
MacManus, Aodh	Great Britain
Manuilevski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Muna	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Neurath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Alternate Rionzi	Italy
Alternate Rykov	USSR
Schefflo	Norway
Alternate Schlecht	Germany
Semard, Pierre	France
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Sokolnikov, G. Y.	USSR
Stalin, Joseph	USSR
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @Ercoli	Italy
Alternate Treint, Albert	France
Vuioovich	Com. International of Youth
Alternate Zetkin, Klara	Germany
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

8. Elected at the Sixth Plenum in 1926:

Alternate Bodacht, Max	USA
Alternate Bogutski	Poland
Alternate Boshkovich	Yugoslavia
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Chen Ho-hsiang	China
Alternate Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
Ferguson	Great Britain
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland

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8. Sixth Plenum (Cont'd):

Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU; USSR
Manuillski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Remmole, Herrmann	Germany
Roy, Manabendranath	India
Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
Semard, Pierre	France
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Treint, Albert	France
Zetkin, Klara	Germany
Zinoviev, Grigori	USSR

Presumably also elected at Sixth Plenary Session in 1926:

Lominadse, Besso	Com. International of Youth
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Vuioovich	Com. International of Youth

9. Elected at the Seventh Plenum in 1927:

Alternate Bogutski	Poland
Bulcharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate Codovilla, Victorio	Mexico
Cremet	France
Duncan	USA
Gallacher, William	Great Britain
Alternate Gennari, Edigio	Italy
Alternate Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Haken	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Alternate Kun, Bela	Hungary
Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Alternate Magi	Italy
Manuillski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Milkovich	Yugoslavia
Alternate Molotov, Vyacheslav M.	USSR
Murphy, J. T.	Great Britain
Pruchniak	Poland
Alternate Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Remmole, Herrmann	Germany
Roy, Manabendranath	India
Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
Samoon	Java
Alternate Schueller, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
Semard, Pierre	France
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Sillen, Hugo	Sweden
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Tan Ping-shan	China
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Alternate Treint, Albert	France
Zetkin, Klara	Germany

10. Elected at the Eighth Plenum, 1927:

Bernard, A.	France
Alternate Bogutski	Poland
Bulcharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate Codovilla, Victorio	Mexico
Duncan	USA
Gallacher, William	Great Britain

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Alternate Gennari, Edigio	Italy
Alternate Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Haken	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Alternate Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU, USSR
Magi	Italy
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Molotov, Vyacheslav M.	USSR
Murphy, J. T.	Great Britain
Pruchniak	Poland
Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Remmele, Herrmann	Germany
Roy, Manabendranath	India
Ruthenberg, Charles E.	USA
Samoon	Java
Alternate Schueller, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
Sellier, Jean	France
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Sillon, Hugo	Sweden
Tan Ping-shan	China
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Alternate Treint, Albert	France
Zetkin, Klara	Germany

11. Elected at the Ninth Plenum, 1928:

Alternate Arnot, R. Page	Great Britain
Barbo, Henri	France
Alternate Bennett	Great Britain
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Engdahl, Louis J.	USA
Foster, William Z.	USA
Gallacher, William	Great Britain
Alternate Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
Hsiang	China
Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
Jilek	Czechoslovakia
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Alternate Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Magi	Italy
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Molotov, Vyacheslav M.	USSR
Murphy, J. T.	Great Britain
Pruchnick	Poland
Alternate Puhrmann	Poland
Alternate Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Remmele, Herrmann	Germany
Roy, Manabendranath	India
Samoon	Java
Alternate Schueller, Richard	Com. International of Youth; Austria
Semard, Pierre	France
Shatskin, Lazar	Com. International of Youth
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Alternate Vincenti	Italy
Zetkin, Klara	Germany

Also, possibly, Cachin, Marcel France

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12. Elected at Session of Executive Committee of 3 Sept. 1928:

Barbe, Henri	France
Bell, Thomas G.	Great Britain
Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
Alternate Chang Pyao	China
Alternate Foster, William Z.	USA
Gitlow, Benjamin	USA
Alternate Hansen, Arvid Gilbert	Norway
Alternate Heckert, Fritz	RILU: Germany
Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland, later at large
Jilek	Czechoslovakia
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kato	Japan
Khitarov, Rafail Moiseyevich	Com International of Youth
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland, later at large
Alternate Leszynski, Julius @ Lenski	Poland
Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR
Alternate Milkovich	Yugoslavia
Molotov, Vyascheslav M.	USSR
Musso, M.	Indonesia
Alternate Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Pruchniak	Poland
Alternate Puhmann	Poland
Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Remmele, Herrmann	Germany
Rosso	Latin America
Alternate Rust, William	Com. International of Youth; G. Britain
Semard, Pierre	France
Serpa	Italy
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Tsu Tsu-bo @ Strakhov	China
Zetkin, Klara	Germany, later at large

13. Elected at the Tenth Plenum in 1929:

Barbe, Henri	France
Bell, Thomas G.	Great Britain
Alternate Chang Pyao	China
Alternate Foster, William Z.	USA
Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
Grieco, Ruggiero @ Carlandi	Italy
Gusev, Sergei Ivanovich	USSR
Alternate Hansen, Arvid Gilbert	Denmark
Alternate Heckert, Fritz	Germany, RILU
Katayama, Sen	Japan
Kato	Japan
Khitarov, Rafail Moiseyevich	Com International of Youth
Kilbom, Karl	Sweden
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Lédo, Americo	Brazil
Leszynski, Jules @ Lenski	Poland
Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Milkovich	Yugoslavia
Molotov, Vyascheslav M.	USSR
Musso, M.	Indonesia
Alternate Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Pruchniak	Poland
Alternate Puhmann	Poland
Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR

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13. Tenth Plenum, Cont'd:

Minor, Robert @ Randolph	USA
Alternate Reimann, Paul	Czechoslovakia
Remmele, Herrmann	Germany
Rosso	Latin America
Alternate Rust, William	Com. International of Youth; Gr. Britain
Semard, Pierre	France
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @Ercoli	Italy
Tsu Tsu-bo @ Strakhov	China
Zetkin, Klara	Germany

14. Elected at the Eleventh Plenum, 1931:

Arnot, R. Page	Great Britain
Barbe, Henri	France
Alternate Boshkovich	Yugoslavia
Alternate Browder, Earl	USA
Gachin, Marcel	France
Celor	France
Chemodanov, V.	USSR
Alternate Florin, Wilhelm	Germany
Foster, William Z.	USA
Alternate Furini	Italy
Alternate Furubotten, Poder	Norway
Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
Grieco, Ruggiero @Garlandi	Italy
Alternate Gusev, Sergei Ivanovich	USSR
Gutmann	Czechoslovakia
Huan Pin	China
Katayama, Son	Japan
Alternate Khorin, V.	White Russia
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Alternate Koplenig, Johann	Austria
Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Leszynski, Julius @Lonski	Poland
Lozevski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Alternate Mueller	Com. International of Youth
Alternate Neumann, Heinz	Germany
Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Pruchniak	Poland
Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Minor, Robert @ Randolph	USA
Rommele, Herrmann	Germany
Sillen, Hugo	Sweden
Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
Sochatzki @ Bratkouski	Poland
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Su	China
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @Ercoli	Italy
Thorez, Maurice	France
Zetkin, Klara	Germany

15. Elected at the Thirteenth Plenum, December 1933:

Browder, Earl	USA
Chemodanov	USSR
Chen Shao-yu @ Wang Ming	China
Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
Koplenig, Johann	Austria

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15. Thirteenth Plenum, Cont'd:

Kun, Bela	Hungary
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Leszynski, Julius @ Lenski	Poland
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Nozaka, Sanzo @ Okano	Japan
@ Sano-Seki	
Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Richter	
Thaelmann, Ernst	Germany
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Thorez, Maurice	France

16. Elected at the Seventh World Congress, 1935:

Alternate Bronkowski	Poland
Alternate Browder, Earl	USA
Cachin, Marcel	France
Chen Shao-yu @ Wang Ming	China
Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
Florin, Wilhelm	Germany
Foster, William Z.	USA
Alternate Gallacher, William	Great Britain
Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
Alternate Grieco, Ruggiero @ Garlandi	Italy
Alternate Guyot, Raymond	France
Alternate Heckert, Fritz	Germany; RILU
Alternate Koehler, Bruno	Czechoslovakia
Kolarov, Vasil	Bulgaria
Alternate Kang Sheng	China
Alternate Koplonig, Johann	Austria
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Leszynski, Julius @ Lenski	Poland
Alternate Linderot, Sven Lasse	Sweden
Alternate Lozovski, Solomon A.	RILU & USSR
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR & Ukraine
Marty, Andre	France
Alternate Mikhail	Com. International of Youth
Nozaka Sanzo @ Okano	
@ Sano-Seki	Japan
Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
Pollitt, Harry	Great Britain
Stalin, Josef	USSR
Thorez, Maurice	France
Togliatti, Palmiro @ Ercoli	Italy
Trilisser, Mikhail @ Moskvina	USSR
Alternate Tuominen, Arvo	Finland
Zhdanov, A. A.	USSR

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APPENDIX D

MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL SECRETARIAT

1. The following were reported as members of the Political Secretariat in 1924:

Baid Galoshev (or Said Galicov)	USSR
Balabanova, Angelica	Italy
Lokai	Hungary
Markovich	Yugoslavia
Takhakaya	Georgia

2. The following were reported as members of the Political Secretariat in 1925:

Secretary General:	Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
	Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
	Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
	Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
	Treint, Albert	France
Alternate	Neurath, Alois	Czechoslovakia
Alternate	MacManus, Aodh	Great Britain

3. The following were reported as members of the Political Secretariat, elected at the extended plenary session of the ECCI, in 1926:

Alternate	Secretary General:	Kolarov, Vasil	USSR
		Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
		Ferguson	Great Britain
		Geschke, Ottomar	Germany
		Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
		Jakob, Berthold	France
		Kornblum	USSR
		Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
		Petrov	USSR
		Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
Alternate		Fogany, John	Hungary
		Roy, Manabendranath	India
		Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
		Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy

4. The following were reported as members of the Political Secretariat, elected in 1928:

	Barbe, Henri	France
	Bell, Thomas G.	Great Britain
	Bukharin, Nicolai	USSR
	Humbert-Droz, Jules	Switzerland
	Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
	Molotov, Vyacheslav M.	USSR
	Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
	Remmele, Herrmann	Germany
	Sierra (or Serra)	Italy
	Smeral, Bohumir	Czechoslovakia
	Tsu Tsu-bo	China
Alternates:	Khitarev, R.	Young Communist International
Alternate	Lozovski, Solomon A.	USSR
Alternate	Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR

5. The following were elected to the Political Secretariat at the plenary session of 1931:

Gutmann	Czechoslovakia
Huan Pin	China
Knorin, V.	USSR
Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
Leszynski, Julius	Poland
Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR

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	Piatnitzky, Ossip	USSR
	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Alternate	Arnot, R. Page	Great Britain
Alternate	Celor	France
Alternate	Chemodanov, V.	USSR
Alternate	Furini	Italy
Alternate	Lozovski, Solomon A.	USSR
Alternate	Sechatzki @ Bratkovski	Poland

6. The following were elected to the Political Secretariat ^{by} ~~of~~ the Seventh World Congress in 1935:

	Secretary General, Dimitrov, Georgi	Bulgaria
	Gottwald, Klement	Czechoslovakia
	Kuusinen, Otto V.	Finland
	Manuilski, Dmitri Z.	USSR
	Marty, Andre	France
	Pieck, Wilhelm	Germany
	Togliatti, Palmiro	Italy
Alternate	Chen Shao-yu	China
Alternate	Florin, Wilhelm	Germany
Alternate	Trilisser, M.	USSR

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Scandinavian Section. Chief: Kuusinen
Assistants: Manner (Finland)
Joergensen (Denmark)
Schefflo (Norway)
Kilbom (Sweden)

Finland: Chief: Manner
Substitute: Kuusinen
Permanent connection: Transport Kontoret, Helsing-
fors; Hellberg
Assistants: Welleri
Walknam, J.
Laotomaki, G.
Rahia, M.
Salano, R. (Silano?)

Sweden: Chief: Kilbom
Permanent connection: Editor of the Folket's Dagblad
Politiken, Stockholm.
Assistants: Hoeglund
Linderoth
Dalstroem
Kroeg
N. Soederquist

Norway: Chief: Schefflo
Permanent connection: Commercial Delegation, Christiania
Assistants: Gosparius
Ossen (Paaschch Aasen?)
Langset
Frey

Denmark: Chief: Joergensen
Permanent connection: Falster, Jernbane Klubb (Railway
Club);
Assistants: E. Siemens
Larsen
Kollar
Micholson
Nilsen

Balkan Section: Chief: Kolarov

Rumania: Chief: Aabari Rali

Bulgaria: Chief: Kolarov

Greece: Chief: Ribas

South-Slavia: Chief: Mavisovich

Latin Division: Chief: Sadoul, Jacques

France: Chief: Sadoul, Jacques
Permanent connection: Paris, L'Humanite
8 assistants.

Belgium: Chief: Van Oberstraaten
Permanent connection: Paris
5 assistants.

Italy: Chief: Bordiga

Spain: Chief: Ruan

Portugal: Chief: Sulkowski

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British Division. Chief: Gallacher

Permanent Connection: London, Wellington Street, U.S. 2,
Watkins Br. B. RILU Old Kent Street 242, Southwark Pr.
10 assistants.

2. The Eastern Propaganda Secretariat. Chief: Broido

11 assistants.

Far Eastern Section:

Japan
Korea
China
Manchuria
Tibet

Middle East Section:

Persia
Afghanistan
India
Malaya

Near East Section:

Turkey
Egypt
Arabia

3. Secretariat for Special Groups.

Chairman: Stocklitsky, Alexander

Substitutes: Hieronymus
Freeman

Members: Maring (H.E.I.)
Scheffik (Malaysia)
Jorgis, John N. (North America)
Budurum (Malaysia)
Watin (South Africa)
Setroy (Argentina)

Section for British Colonies: Chief: Susenko (Australia)

Section for North America: Chairman: Wm. Z. Foster

Members: Reed, John
McKay, Claude
Alter
Martens
Roy, Allan
Diaz, Robert

Sub-section for U.S.: Chairman: Wm. Z. Foster

Members: Shabra (Washington)
Bilan, Alexander (Virginia)
McKay, Claude
Fraina, Louis C. (N.Y.)

Section for South America: Chairman: Ketoner (Uruguay)

Members: Widovsky (Brazil)
Liberaz (Brazil)
Ker, Ed. (Argentine)
Lipman, Max

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Members: Mercier
 Kuritz
 Raffkin
 Belleville
 A. Holicher (N.Y.)
 Reed
 Flynn (Edward I. Lindgren?)
 Stemmers
 Abrams
 Heimann-Lachowsky

Sub-section for Mexico: Chairman: Allan Roy

Members: Allen, Helen
 Simon
 Kentells
 Arago, B.
 Diaz, Robert
 Lipman

Sub-section for Argentine: Chairman: Yalatsovski

Members: Maksimovich
 Bat, M.
 Bat, W.
 Pereira, H.
 Romrok, T.
 Soltis, Elizabeth

Division for Oceanic Islands. Chairman: Russel (Hawaii)

Judging from (probably authentic) instructions of 27 March 1924, signed by the Secretary General Kolarov, the deputy chairman of OMS, Nazaretian, and the deputy chairman of OAO, Manuilski, OAO maintained close liaison with, and directed the personnel in charge of agitation work within the sections. Such personnel, assigned to a specific field job, was obliged to conceal any connections with the local party. The agitator in question did not have the right to appear at public party meetings as a speaker, although secretly, he directed and supervised the local party press and agitation activities. His functions included penetration and subversion of hostile groups, especially (military circles, as well as collection of political intelligence on groups and individuals inimical to Communism.

Liaison between the agitator and OAO was to be carried out by local party organs exclusively. For this purpose a special courier system was to be organized, which apparently forwarded the agitator's reports to collection points designated by OAO or OMS. The efficiency of OAO and its specific operational methods cannot be judged for lack of evidence.

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APPENDIX F

DISTRIBUTION POINTS OF "NEW TIMES"

U.S.S.R. "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga", 18 Kuznetski Most, Moscow

Great Britain Collet's Head Office, 67, Great Russell St., London, W.C.1.

Branches: London Bookshop, 66, Charing Cross Rd., London, W.C. 2
 Hampstead Bookshop, 193, Haverstock Hill, London, N.W. 3
 Russian Bookshop, 40, Great Russell St., London, W.C. 1
 Manchester Bookshop, 36, Deansgate, Manchester 3
 Glasgow Bookshop, 15, Dundas St., Glasgow C. 1
 Hull Bookshop, 62, Carr Lane Hull
 Subscription Dept., 9, Southampton Place, London, W.C. 1

U.S.A. Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Ave., N.Y.
 Universal Distributors, 38 Union Square, New York 3.

France Messageries Françaises de la Presse, 111 rue Roaumur,
 Paris II^e
 Franco-U.R.S.S., 29 rue d'Anjou, Paris VIII

Belgium Les Amities Belgo-Sovietiques, la Boulevard due Regent,
 Bruxelles
 Librairie "Du Monde Entier", rue du Grand-Hospice 3a,
 Bruxelles

Canada Progress Book Service, 95 King St., Toronto
 Universal News Co., 138 Hastings St., E. Vancouver, B.C.

Australia Current Book Distributors, 695 George St., Sydney

South Africa People's Bookshop, Pfy., Ltd., Trades Hall, Kerk St.,
 Johannesburg

Egypt Librairie Le Rond Point, 3 Place Moustafa Kamel, Le Caire

Iran Librairie "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga", rue Saadi No. 486, Teheran

Chile Libreria Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, Monedo 702,
 Casilla 13201, Santiago

China Fleet's Book Store, 798 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai

Colombia Distribuidora Nacional de Publicaciones Manuel Abondano H.,
 Apartado Nacional 27-29, Bogota

Uruguay Ediciones Pueblos Unidos Ltd., Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo.

Cuba Editorial Paginas, Apartado 2213, Habana

New Zealand Progressive Publishing Society, PO Box 956, Wellington

Palestine Pales Press Co., Ltd., PO Box 844, Tel-Aviv
 Branches: Pales Press Co., PO Box 476, Haifa; Pales
 Press Co., PO Box 619, Jerusalem; Pales
 Press Co Ltd. (Mr. Josef Taragan), 36 Souk Tawile, Beirut

India People's Publishing House, 190 B Khetawadi Main Road, Bombay 4
 People's Publishing House, YMCA Bld., The Mall Lahore
 People's Publishing House, 7, Bisheshwarnath Rd., Lucknow
 People's Book House, 7, Albert's Rd., Allahabad
 Prajaskati Publishing House, Moghulrojpuram Bezwada
 People's Book House, Kallai Rd., Chalapuram Calicut
 National Book Agency, 12, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta

Burma People's Book House, 219 37th St., Rangoon

Turkey L. D. Beresiner, Isticlal Caddesi 67, Beyoglu Istanbul

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SECRET**STRUCTURE OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL**